

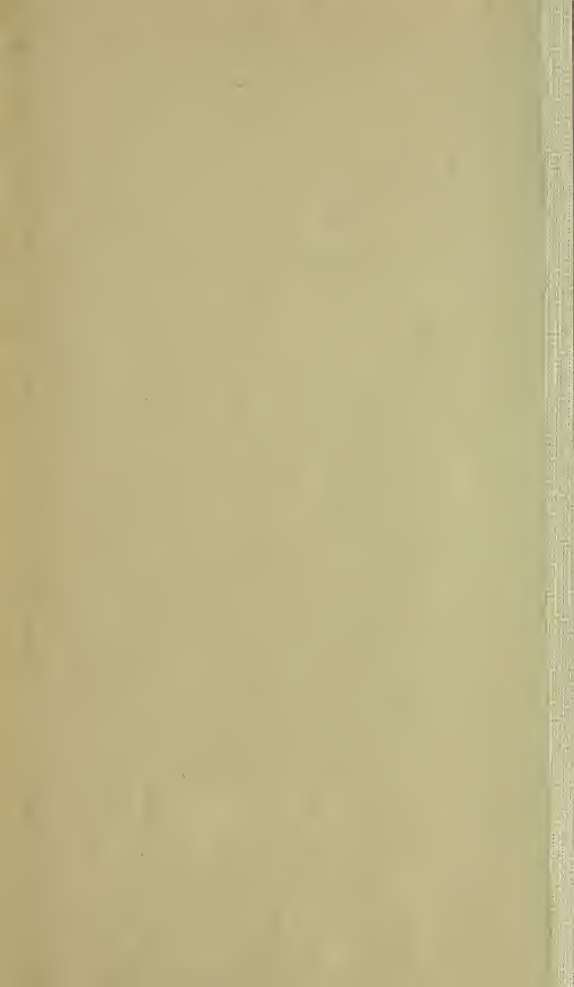
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Wale del *Tougeron sculp*
Arch Bishop Cranmer.



T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF
THOMAS CRANMER.

 HIS great prelate was the son of Thomas Cranmer, esq. a gentleman of an antient and wealthy family that came in with the Conqueror; and was born at Asleston, in Nottinghamshire, on the second of July, 1498. His father died when he was very young; and his mother, when he was fourteen years old, sent him to Cambridge. He was elected fellow of Jesus College; where he was so well beloved, that, when his fellowship was vacant by his marriage, yet, his wife dying about a year after, the master and fellows chose him again.

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This favour he so gratefully acknowledged, that, when he was nominated to a fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new foundation at Oxon, though the salary was much more considerable, and the way to preferment more ready by the favour of the cardinal, he nevertheless declined it, and chose rather to continue with his old fellow-collegians, who had given him so singular a proof of their affection.

In the year 1523, he commenced doctor of divinity, being then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and, being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen reader of the divinity lecture in his own college, and appointed by the university to be one of the examiners of those who took their degrees in divinity.

During his residence at Cambridge, the question arose concerning king Henry's divorce; and the plague breaking out in the university about this time, he retired to Waltham-Abbey; where casually meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the one the king's secretary, the other his almoner, and discoursing with them about the divorce, he greatly commended the expedient suggested to the king by cardinal Wolsey, of consulting the divines of our own and the foreign universities. This conversation Fox and Gardiner related to the king, who immediately sent for him to court; and, admiring his gravity, modesty, and learning, resolved to promote him. Accordingly he made him his chaplain, and gave him a good benefice.

benefice. He was also nominated by him to be arch-deacon of Taunton.

At the king's command he drew up his own judgment of the case in writing ; and so solidly defended it at the public school at Cambridge, that he brought over divers of the contrary part to his opinion ; particularly five of those six doctors who had before given in their judgment to the king, for the lawfulness of the pope's dispensation for marrying his brother's wife.

In the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer was sent by the king to dispute on this subject at Paris, and in other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation : but, after sundry promises and appointments, none appeared to oppose him publicly ; and, in more private conferences, he forced them to confess, that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him penitentiary-general of England, and dismissed him. In Germany, he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary persuasion ; and prevailed on the famous Osiander, to declare the king's marriage unlawful, in his Treatise of Incestuous Marriages ; and to draw up a form of direction, how the king's process should be managed ; which was sent over to England. Before he left Germany, he was married to Osiander's niece ; whom, when he returned from his embassy,

he did not take over with him, but sent for her privately in 1534.

In August, 1532, archbishop Warham departed this life ; and the king, thinking Dr. Cranmer the most proper person to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, wrote to him to hasten home, concealing the reason : but Cranmer guessing at it, and desirous to decline the station, moved slowly on, in hopes that the see might be filled before his arrival : but all this backwardness, and the excuses which his great modesty and humility prompted him to make, when, after his return, the king opened his resolution to him, served only to raise his majesty's opinion of his merit ; so that, at last, he found himself obliged to submit, and undertake the weighty charge.

The pope, notwithstanding Cranmer was a man very unacceptable to Rome, dispatched eleven bulls to complete his character. These bulls the archbishop, according to custom, received ; but immediately surrendered them to the king, because he would not acknowledge the pope's power of conferring ecclesiastical dignities in England ; which he esteemed the king's sole right. He was consecrated on the thirtieth of March, 1533 ; and, because in the oath of fidelity to the pope, which he was obliged to take before his consecration, there were some things seemingly inconsistent with his allegiance to the king, he made a public protestation, That he intended not to take
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the oath in any other sense than that which was reconcileable to the laws of God, the king's just prerogative, and the statutes of this kingdom; so as not to bind himself thereby to act contrary to any of these. This protestation he renewed when he was to take another oath to the pope, at his receiving the pall; and both times desired the prothonotary to make a public instrument of his protestation, and the persons present to sign it.

The first service the archbishop did for the king, was pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen Catharine; which was done on the twenty-third of May. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, being in commission with him. The queen, after three citations, neither appearing in person nor by proxy, was declared contumax; the depositions relating to the consummation of the marriage with prince Arthur were read, together with the opinions of the most noted canonists and divines in favour of the divorce: and the archbishop, with the unanimous consent of the rest of the commissioners, pronounced the marriage between the king and queen Catharine null, and of no force from the beginning; and declared them separated and divorced from each other, and at liberty to engage with whom they pleased.

In this affair, the archbishop proceeded only upon what had been already concluded by the universities, convocations, &c. and did no

more than put their decisions into a form of law.

On the twenty-eighth of May he held another court at Lambeth, in which he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Bullen. The pope, alarmed at these proceedings, by a public instrument declared the divorce null and void, and threatened to excommunicate the archbishop, unless he would revoke all that he had done: whereupon the archbishop appealed from the pope to the next general council, lawfully called; and sent the appeal, under his seal, to Bonner, desiring him and Gardiner to acquaint the pope with it, in such a manner as they thought most expedient.

On the seventh of September, the new queen was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized the Wednesday following, and named Elizabeth, archbishop Cranmer standing godfather.

When the supremacy came under debate, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was called in question, the archbishop answered all the arguments brought in defence of the papal tyranny, with such strength and perspicuity, that the foreign power was, without scruple, abolished by full consent in parliament and convocation. The destruction of this usurped jurisdiction Cranmer had prayed for many years, as himself declared in a sermon at Canterbury; because it was the occasion of many things being done contrary to the honour of God and the good of this realm;

and

and he perceived no hopes of amendment while it continued. This he now saw happily effected; and, soon after, he ordered an alteration to be made in the archiepiscopal titles; instead of *apostolicæ sedis legatus*, styling himself, *metropolitanus*.

The king, whose supremacy was now almost as universally acknowledged as the pope's had been before, looked on the monasteries with a jealous eye; these he thought were, by their privileges of exemption, engaged to the see of Rome, and would prove a body of reserve for the pope, always ready to appear in the quarrel, and support his claim. This, it is probable, was the chief motive which inclined the king to think of dissolving them: and Cranmer being consulted on this head, approved of the resolution. He saw how inconsistent those foundations were with the reformation of religion, which he then had in view; and proposed, that, out of the revenues of the monasteries, the king should found more bishoprics: that, the dioceses being reduced into less compass, the bishops might the better discharge their duty according to the scripture and private practice. He hoped also, that, from these ruins, there would be new foundations erected in every cathedral, to be nurseries of learning, under the inspection of the bishop, for the use and benefit of the whole diocese. But these noble designs were unhappily defeated by the sinister arts of avaricious courtiers, who, without fear of the divine

vengeance, or regard to the good of the public, studied only how, sacrilegiously, to raise their own fortunes out of the church's spoils.

When queen Anne Bullen was sent to the Tower, on a sudden jealousy of the king, the archbishop was greatly concerned for her misfortune, and did his utmost endeavours to assist her in her distress. He wrote a consolatory letter to the king: in which, after having recommended to him an equality of temper, and resignation to Providence, he put him in mind of the great obligations he had received from the queen, and endeavoured to dispose the king to clemency and a good humour. Finally, he most humbly implored him, that, however unfortunate the issue of this affair might prove, he would still continue his love to the gospel, lest it should be thought, that it was for her sake only that he had favoured it. But neither this letter of the archbishop, nor another very moving one wrote with her own hand, made the least impression upon the king; for her ruin was decreed; and, after Cranmer had declared her marriage with the king null and void, upon her confession of a pre-contract with the earl of Northumberland, she was tried in the Tower, and executed on the nineteenth of May, 1536.

In 1537, the archbishop, with the joint authority of the bishops, set forth that valuable book, intitled, *The Institution of a Christian Man*. This book was composed in Convocation, and drawn up for a direction to the bishops

shops and clergy. It contains an explanation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory.

Archbishop Cranmer, from the day of his promotion to the see of Canterbury, had continually employed his thoughts on getting the scriptures translated into English. He had often solicited his majesty about it, and, at length, obtained a grant, that they might be translated and printed. For want of good paper in England, the copy was sent to Paris; and, by Bonner's means, a licence was procured for printing it there. As soon as some of the copies came to the archbishop's hands, he sent one of them to the lord Cromwell, desiring him to present it, in his name, to the king; importuning him to intercede with his majesty, that, by his authority, all his subjects might have the liberty of using it without constraint: which lord Cromwell accordingly did.

The book was received with inexpressible joy; every one that was able purchased it, and the poor greedily flocked to hear it read. Some persons in years learned to read on purpose that they might peruse it; and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it. The archbishop was not yet convinced of the falseness of the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, but continued a stiff maintainer of the corporeal presence; as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the prosecution of Lambert, who was burnt, on the twentieth of

November, 1538, for denying transubstantiation.

In 1539, the archbishop, and the other bishops who favoured a reformation, fell under the king's displeasure ; because they could not be persuaded, to give their assent in parliament that the king should have all the revenues of the monasteries, which were suppressed, to his own sole use. They had been prevailed upon to consent, that he should have all the lands which his ancestors gave to any of them ; but the residue they would have bestowed on hospitals, schools, and other pious and charitable foundations.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the rest of the popish faction, took this opportunity of insinuating themselves, by their hypocrisy and flattery, into the king's favour ; and to incense him against the archbishop. This is thought to have been the cause of the king's zeal, in pressing the bill containing the six bloody articles. The archbishop argued boldly in the house against the six articles three days together ; and that so strenuously, that, though the king was so obstinate in passing the act, yet he desired a copy of his reasons against it ; and shewed no resentment towards him for his opposition to it. The king would have persuaded him to withdraw out of the house, since he could not vote for the bill ; but, after a decent excuse, he told his majesty, that he thought himself obliged in conscience to stay and shew his dissent.

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When the bill passed he entered his protest against it ; and soon after he sent his wife privately away to her friends in Germany. The king, who loved him for his probity and courage, sent the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Cromwell, to acquaint him, and to assure him, of his favour, notwithstanding the passing of the act.

In 1540, the king issued out a commission to the archbishop, and a select number of bishops, to inspect into matters of religion, and explain some of the chief doctrines of it. The bishops drew up a set of articles favouring the old superstitions ; and meeting at Lambeth, vehemently urged the archbishop, that they might be established, it being the king's will and pleasure. But neither by fear nor flattery could they prevail upon him to consent to it : no, though his friend the lord Cromwell lay then in the Tower, and himself was supposed to lose ground daily more and more in the king's affections, he went himself to the king, and expostulated with him, and so wrought upon him, that he joined with the archbishop against the rest of the commissioners ; and the book of articles was drawn up and passed according to Cranmer's judgment.

In this year the largest volume of the English Bible was published, with an excellent preface of the archbishop's prefixed to it ; and Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, set up six of them in the most convenient places of his cathedral of St. Paul's, for the people

to resort unto and read. So different were his sentiments then from what they afterwards appeared in queen Mary's days.

After the fall of the lord Cromwell, archbishop Cranmer, observing the restless spirits of his adversaries, and how they were upon the watch for an opportunity to bring him into trouble, thought it prudent to retire for a season, and to live in as great privacy as the duties of his station would permit him. Notwithstanding which, his implacable enemy, bishop Gardiner, was daily contriving his ruin; and he, having procured one Sir John Gostwicke to accuse the archbishop in parliament, of encouraging novel opinions, and making his family a nursery of heresy and sedition, divers lords of the privy-council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the Tower, till enquiry should be made into the truth of this charge. The king, who perceived that there was more malice than truth in these clamours against Cranmer, one evening, under pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side. The archbishop's servants acquainting their lord of his majesty's being so near, his lordship came to the water-side, to pay his respects to the king, and to invite him into his palace. The king commanded the archbishop to come into the barge, and made him sit down close by him. Having so done, the king began to complain to him, of the nation's being ever-run by heresy and new notions of divinity,

ty, which he had reason to fear might be of dangerous consequence, and that the faction might in time break out into a civil war : to prevent which, his majesty told him, he was resolved to look after the grand incendiary, and to take him off by some exemplary punishment : and then proceeded to ask the archbishop what his opinion was of such a resolution.

Though Cranmer soon smelt the meaning of that question, yet he freely, and without the least appearance of concern, replied; 'That his majesty's resolution was much to be commended : but then he cautioned the king, not to charge those with heresy who made the divinely inspired scriptures the rule of their faith, and could prove their doctrines by clear testimonies from the word of God. Upon this the king came closer, and plainly told him, He had been informed by many, that he was the grand heresiarch who encouraged all this heterodoxy ; and that his authority had occasioned the six articles to be so publicly contested in his province. The archbishop modestly replied, That he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion, in respect of those articles, as he had declared himself of when the bill was passing ; but that, notwithstanding, he was not conscious to himself of having offended against the act.

Then the king, putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, Whether his bedchamber
would

would stand the test of those articles? The archbishop gravely and ingenuously confessed, that he was married in Germany during his embassy at the emperor's court, before his promotion to the see of Canterbury; but, at the same time, assured the king, That, on passing that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His answering thus, without evasion or reserve, so pleased the king, that he now pulled off the mask, and assured him of his favour; and then freely told him of the information preferred against him; and who they were that pretended to make it good. The archbishop said, that he was not afraid of the strictest scrutiny; and therefore was willing to submit himself to a legal tryal. The king assured him, he would put the cause into his own hands, and trust him entirely with the management of it. This the archbishop remonstrated, would be censured as partiality, and the king's justice called in question: but his majesty had so strong an opinion of Cranmer's integrity, that he was resolved to leave it to his conduct; and, having farther assured him of the entire confidence he reposed in him, dismissed him.

The archbishop immediately sent down his vicar-general and principal registry to Canterbury, to make a thorough enquiry into the affair, and trace the progress of this plot against him. In the mean time his adversaries

ries importunately pressed the king to send him to prison, and oblige him to answer to the charge of heresy.

At length his majesty resigned so far to their solicitations, as to consent, that, if the archbishop could fairly be proved guilty of any one crime against either church or state, he should be sent to prison. In this the king acted the politician, intending, by thus seemingly giving countenance to the prosecution, to discover who were Cranmer's chief adversaries, and what was the length of their design against him. At midnight he sent a gentleman of his privy chamber to Lambeth, to fetch the archbishop; and, when he was come, told him, how he had been daily importuned to commit him to prison, as a favourer of heresy; and how far he had complied. The archbishop thanked his majesty for this timely notice, and declared himself willing to go to prison, and stand a trial; for, being conscious he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the best way to clear his innocence, and remove all unreasonable and groundless suspicions. The king, admiring his simplicity, told him, he was in the wrong to rely so much on his innocence; for, if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to prison, there would be villains enough to swear any thing against him; but, while he was at liberty, and his character entire, it would not be so easy to suborn witnesses against him: "and, therefore," continued he, "since your own un-
guarded

guarded simplicity makes you less cautious than you ought to be, I will suggest to you the means of your preservation. To-morrow you will be sent for to the privy-council, and ordered to prison: upon this you are to request, that, since you have the honour to be one of the board, you may be admitted unto the council, and the informers against you brought face to face; and then, if you cannot clear yourself, you are willing to go to prison. If this reasonable request is denied you, appeal to me, and give them this sign, that you have my authority for so doing." Then the king took a ring of great value off his finger, gave it to the archbishop, and dismissed him.

The next morning, the archbishop was summoned to the privy-council; and, when he came there, was denied admittance into the council-chamber. When Dr. Batts, one of the king's physicians, heard of this, he came to the archbishop, who was waiting in the lobby amongst the footmen, to shew his respect, and to protect him from insults.

The king soon after sent for the doctor, who acquainted his majesty with the shameful indignity put upon the archbishop. The king, incensed that the primate of all England should be used in so contumelious a manner, immediately sent to command them to admit the archbishop into the council-chamber. At his entrance he was saluted with an heavy accusation of having infected the whole realm with heresy;

heresy ; and commanded to the Tower till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined. The archbishop desired to see the informers against him, and to have the liberty of defending himself before the council, and not to be sent to prison on bare suspicion : but, when this was absolutely denied him, and finding that neither arguments nor intreaties would prevail, he appealed to the king ; and producing the ring he had given him, put a stop to their proceedings.

When they came before the king, he severely reprimanded them ; expatiated on his obligations to Cranmer for his fidelity and integrity ; and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to express it, by their love and kindness to the archbishop.

Cranmer having escaped the snare, never shewed the least resentment for the injuries done him ; and, from this time forwards, had so great a share in the king's favour, that nothing farther was attempted against him. And, now I am upon this subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, I cannot but take notice of a pleasant story which happened some time before this :

The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at Cambridge, lived at the Dolphin inn ; and he often resorted thither on that account. The popish party had raised a story, that he was ostler of that inn, and never had the benefit of a learned education. This idle story a Yorkshire priest had, with great confidence, asserted

asserted in an ale-house he used to frequent; railing at the archbishop, and saying, that he had no more learning than a goose. Some of the parish, who had a respect for Cranmer's character, informed the lord Cromweil of this, who immediately sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he sent a relation of his to the archbishop, to beg his pardon, and humbly sue to him for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and, after a gentle reproof, asked the priest, Whether he knew him? to which he answered, No. The archbishop expostulated with him, why he should then make so free with his character. The priest excused himself by being in drink; but this, Cranmer told him, was a double fault; and then let him know that, if he had a mind to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant, and to understand nothing but his mother-tongue. "No doubt, then," said Cranmer, "you are well versed in the English Bible, and can answer any question of that: Pray tell me who was David's father?" The priest stood still a while to consider; but at last told the archbishop, he could not recollect his name. "Tell me, then," says Cranmer, "who was Solomon's father?" The poor priest replied, that he had no skill in genealogies, and could not tell. Then the archbishop advised him to frequent

quent alehouses less, and his study more; and admonished him, not to accuse others of want of learning till he was master of some himself, discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

The same lenity he shewed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barbar; who, though entertained in his family, and entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully conspired with Gardiner to take away his life. When he first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study; and telling them he had been basely and falsely abused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him how he should behave himself towards them. They, not suspecting themselves to be concerned in the question, replied, That such vile abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the utmost rigour; nay, deserved to die without mercy. At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to Heaven, cried out, "Merciful God, whom may a man trust!" and then, pulling out of his bosom the letters by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew these papers. When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion; and, falling down on their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness. The archbishop told them, that he forgave them, and would pray
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for them ; but they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future.

It cannot be denied, that the just zeal of some of our reformers against the usurped papal supremacy, carried them too far, and made them stretch the regal power to such an exorbitant length as was inconsistent with the divine commission of the clergy, and seemed to reduce the church to be a mere creature of the state. That archbishop Cranmer ran into this extreme is plain, not only from his answers to some questions relating to the government of the church, first published by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his mischievous *Irenicum*, but from the commission which he took from Edward VI. whom he petitioned for a revival of his jurisdiction ; and that, as he had exercised the functions of an archbishop, during the former reigns ; so that authority determining with king Henry's life, his majesty would trust him with the same jurisdiction. On this error of the archbishop, the modern papists make tragical outcries, forgetting, that it was the common mistake of those times ; that it is usual for men, in the first heat of their zeal against any pernicious error, to run too far the contrary way ; and that Bonner not only took out the same commission now, but had before taken out another in the reign of king Henry ; in which the king was declared the fountain of all authority, civil and ecclesiastical ; and those who formerly exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction

jurisdiction, are said to have done it precariously, and at the courtesy of the king, and that it was lawful for him to revoke it at pleasure.

And therefore, since the lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs, was so far employed in matters of state, as not to be at leisure to discharge his functions every-where, the king gave Bonner authority to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the diocese of London. This seems to have been the precedent, after which the new commissions were now formed. Mr. Strype, indeed, confidently affirms the archbishop to have had a hand in drawing them up; but the very words which he quotes to prove it, are manifestly taken from the preamble to Bonner's commission. But from these imprimitive and uncatholic notions, our archbishop was happily recovered by that luminary of our reformed church, bishop Ridley. Henry, who died in the Roman communion (though his imperfections are so freely charged on the reformation, by the papists) had, in his will, left six hundred pounds per annum, for masses for his soul, with provision for four solemn obits every year; but by the influence of the archbishop, who was one of the regents, this superstitious part of his will, notwithstanding his strict and solemn charge for its execution, was rejected. On the twentieth of February, the coronation of king Edward was solemnized at Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was performed by archbishop Cranmer, who made
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an excellent speech to the king; in which, after the censure of the papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration, that the solemn ceremonies of a coronation, add nothing to the authority of a prince, whose power is derived immediately from God; he goes to inform the king of his duty, exhorts him to follow the precedent of good Josias, to regulate the worship of God, to suppress idolatry, reward virtue, execute justice, relieve the poor, repress violence, and punish the evil doer. It may not be improper, to transcribe what he says concerning the divine original of kingly power, in his own words, to rectify some prevailing notions amongst us, "The solemn rites of coronation (says he) have their ends and utility, yet neither of direct force or necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increase of their dignity: for they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil, which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained, of the sword which is authorised, of their persons which are elected of God; and indued with the gifts of his Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of the people. The oil, if added, is but a ceremony; if it be wanting, the king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was unctioned." Then follows his account of the king's duty; after which he goes on, "Being bound by my function, to lay these things before

before your royal highness; yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before the nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your majesty deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances." This speech had so good an effect on the young king, that a royal visitation was resolved on, to rectify the disorders of the church, and reform religion. The visitors had six circuits assigned them; and every division had a preacher, whose business it was, to bring off the people from superstition, and dispose them for the intended alteration. And to make the impressions of their doctrine more lasting, the archbishop thought it highly expedient to have some homilies composed; which should, in a plain method, teach the grounds and foundations of true religion, and correct the prevailing errors and superstitions. On this head he consulted the bishop of Winchester, and desired his concurrence; but to no purpose. For Gardiner, forgetting his large professions of all future obedience to the archbishop, was returned with the dog to his vomit, and wrote to the protector, to put a stop to the reformation in its birth. When Cranmer perceived Gardiner obstinate, he went on without him, and set forth the first book of homilies, in which himself had the chief hand. Soon after, Erasmus's paraphrase on the new Testament was translated, and placed in every church, for the instruction of the people.

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On the fifth of November, 1547, a convocation was held at St. Paul's, which the archbishop opened with a speech; in which he put the clergy in mind of applying themselves to the study of the holy scriptures, and proceeding according to that rule, in throwing off the corrupt innovations of popery. But the terror of the six articles being a check on the majority, they acquainted the archbishop with their fears; who reporting it to the council, prevailed to have that act repealed. In this convocation, the communion was ordered to be administered in both kinds, and the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy affirmed by a great majority. In the latter end of January, the archbishop wrote to Bonner, to forbid, throughout his diocese, the ridiculous processions, which were usual in the popish times, on Candlemas-day, Ash-wednesday, and Palm-sunday; and to cause notice thereof to be given to the other neighbouring bishops, that they might do the same. He was also one of the committee appointed to inspect the offices of the church, and to reform them according to scripture and the purest antiquity: and by them a new office for the holy communion was drawn up, and set forth by authority. This year was also published the archbishop's catechism, intitled, *A short instruction in Christian religion, for the singular profit of children and young people*; and a Latin treatise of his against unwritten verities. From this catechism,
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it is plain, that he had now recovered himself from those extravagant notions of the regal supremacy, which he had once the misfortune to run into; for here he strenuously asserts the divine commission of bishops and priests, enlarges on the efficacy of their absolution and spiritual censures, and earnestly wishes for the restoring of the primitive penitentiary discipline. Hence it appears, with what insincerity Dr Stillingfleet acted, when in his *Irenicum* he endeavoured to impose upon the world the contrary doctrines, as the last judgment of the archbishop on this subject. The licence, which was given to men of learning and judgment, freely to preach and write against the popish corruptions, now began to be abused by men of great confidence and ignorance; who took this opportunity to vend many dangerous heresies and blasphemies: to prevent which, they were convened before the archbishop, and prevailed on to recant, and abjure their pernicious opinions. Only one Joan Becher, continued deaf to all arguments, and perversely obstinate to all persuasions. The archbishop thought it necessary to make her a severe example, to terrify all others from the like obstinacy, and crush the spirit of heresy now in its beginnings. To which end he first excommunicated her, and then delivered her over to the secular powers; upon which she was condemned to be burnt. But these rigorous proceedings were very inconsistent with the merciful and tender spirit of the king; he

long withstood the signing a warrant for her execution: and when over-awed by the authority and reasonings of Cranmer, he at last, with great reluctancy, consented to do it; and with tears in his eyes, said to the archbishop, “ My lord, if I do amiss in this, you must answer for it to God.” When the popish faction broke out in 1549, into a dangerous rebellion, demanding, in the most insolent terms, the revival of the six article act, the restitutions of the old superstitions, and that cardinal Pole should not only be pardoned, but sent for home, and be made a privy councillor; and that the abbey and chauntry lands should be restored: the archbishop drew up a large and full answer to their demands, clearly shewing how unreasonable they were, how prejudicial to the real interests of the nation, and of what mischievous consequence to religion; justly exposing the abuses and corruptions of popery, and demonstrating the necessity of a reformation. Bishop Bonner was suspected to be a secret approver and encourager of this rebellion: and one of the rebel’s chief pleas being, that, during the king’s minority, the state had no authority to make laws; Bonner was enjoined to preach on this very subject, to shew the falshood and danger of such pernicious tenets, and assert the king’s just power. But, instead of obeying, in his discourse he cast bitter reflections on the reformation, and threw out some sly insinuations against the government; and information being given thereof

thereof by Latimer and Hooper, a commission was issued out to archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, and others, to proceed against him. When he appeared before the commissioners, he refused to give any direct answer to the charge laid against him; pretending that the cause of his present trouble was, his asserting in his sermon, the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. Then he began in a most audacious and insolent manner to question the archbishop, concerning his belief in that point; but was told that they came not there to dispute, but to hear what answer he could make to the crimes laid to his charge.

The archbishop, with incredible patience, bore with his unparalleled insolence, no less than seven sessions successively; but then finding him incorrigible, and that he was resolved not to answer to the articles alledged against him; but instead of that to revile and calumniate his judges; he, in the name of the rest of the commissioners, pronounced him contumax, and proceeded to the sentence of deprivation. Bonner protested against the validity of this sentence; because he did not appear before them of his own free will, but was a prisoner, and constrained to appear. To which the archbishop replied, that the same plea might be made by any traitor and rebel, since no criminal is willing to be brought to justice.

The next year bishop Gardiner, also, was, for his obstinate opposition to the reformation,

cited before the archbishop, and other commissioners. At his first appearance he protested against the authority of the judges, and excepted against the legality of their commission: he protested also against the persons who appeared against him; and behaving himself in the same haughty and arrogant manner as Bonner had done before, he was at last deprived, after they had borne with his insolence no less than two and twenty sessions at different places, from the 15th of December, to the 14th of February. This year the archbishop published his defence "of the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ." He had now, by the assistance of bishop Ridley, overcome those strong prejudices he had long laboured under, in favour of the corporeal presence; and in this treatise, from scripture and reason, excellently confuted it. The popish party were alarmed at the publication of it; and soon after two answers to it were published, the one wrote by doctor Smith, the other by Gardiner. The archbishop defended his book against them both: and was allowed by all impartial readers, vastly to have the superiority in the argument. The archbishop's book was afterwards translated into latin, by Sir John Cheke, and was highly esteemed by all learned foreigners, for the great knowledge in scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity therein discovered. The next material occurrence relating to the archbishop, was the publication

publication of the forty-two articles of religion; which, with the assistance of bishop Ridley, he drew up for preserving and maintaining the purity and unity of the church. They were also revised by several other bishops and learned divines; and, after their corrections, farther enlarged and improved by Cranmer. These articles were agreed to in convocation, and were afterwards published by royal authority, both in Latin and English.

The archbishop had formed a design, in the reign of the late king Henry, to review and purge the old canon law from its popish corruptions, and had made some progress in the work: but by the secret artifices of Gardiner and others, the king was prevailed upon not to countenance or encourage it. In this reign he resumed his design, and procured a commission from the king, for himself, with other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine into the church-laws; and to compile such a body of laws as they thought most expedient to be practised in the ecclesiastical courts, and most conducive to order and good discipline. The archbishop prosecuted this undertaking with great vigour, and had the principal hand in it: but when a direct and complete draught of it was finished and prepared for the royal assent, the unhappy death of the good king blasted this great design, and prevented its confirmation. The book was published by archbishop Parker, in

the year 1571, intituled, “*Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum.*”

King Edward was now far gone in a consumption, he had been persuaded by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to the lady Jane Grey, who was married to Northumberland’s son. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration of the succession: he argued against it with the king, telling him, that religion wanted not to be defended by such unrighteous methods; that it was one of the gross errors of the papists, to justify the excluding or deposing princes from their just rights, on account of religion; and, let the consequence be what it would, justice ought to take place, and the protection of the church committed to the care of that righteous providence, which was never known to give a blessing to those who endeavoured to preserve themselves from any imminent danger by unlawful means. But his majesty being over-persuaded by Northumberland’s agents, was not to be moved from his resolution: the will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop was sent for last of all, and required to subscribe: but he plainly told them he could not do it without perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, that the judges, who best knew the constitution, should be most regarded in this point; and they had informed

informed him, that notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to the lady Jane. The archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about this matter; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully subscribe to the king's will, he was, after many persuasions, prevailed upon to resign his own private scruples to their authority; and at last, not without great reluctancy, he set his hand to it.

On the sixth of July, in the year of our Lord 1553, it pleased almighty God to take to himself this pious and good prince, king Edward; and the archbishop having subscribed to the king's will, thought himself obliged, by virtue of his oath, to join the lady Jane. But her short-lived power soon expired, and queen Mary's title was universally acknowledged, and submitted to. Not long after her accession, a false report was raised, that archbishop Cranmer, in order to make his court to the queen, had offered to restore the Latin service, and that he had already said mass in his cathedral church at Canterbury. To vindicate himself from this vile and base aspersion, the archbishop published a declaration, in which he not only cleared himself from that unjust imputation, but offered publicly to defend the English liturgy, and prove it consonant to scripture and the purest antiquity; and challenged his enemies to a disputation. This declaration soon fell into the hands of the council, who sent a copy of it to the
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queen's commissioners; and they immediately sent for the archbishop, and questioned him about it. Cranmer acknowledged it to be his; but complained that it had, contrary to his intent, stolen abroad in so imperfect a condition: for his design was to review and correct it; and then, after he had put his seal to it, to fix it up at St. Paul's, and on all the church doors in London. This bold and extraordinary answer so irritated them, that they sent him to the Tower, there to be confined, till the queen's pleasure concerning him was known. Some of his friends who foresaw this storm, had advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea; but he thought it would reflect a great dishonour on the cause he had espoused, if he should desert his station at such a time as this; and chose rather to hazard his life, than give such just cause of scandal and offence.

In the middle of November, archbishop Cranmer was attainted by the parliament, and adjudged guilty of high treason, at Guildhall. His see was hereupon declared void: and on the tenth of December, the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their name, and by their authority. Archbishop Cranmer wrote a very submissive letter to the queen, in the most humble manner acknowledging his fault, in consenting to sign the king's will; acquainting her what pressing instances he made to the king against it; and
excusing

excusing his fault, by being over-ruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, understood the constitution better than he did himself. The queen had pardoned so many already, who had been far more deeply engaged in the lady Jane's usurpation, that Cranmer could not for shame be denied; so he was forgiven the treason: but, to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable hatred against him for her mother's divorce, orders were given to proceed against him for heresy.

In April, 1544, the archbishop was removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. At the first appearance of the archbishop in the public schools, three articles were given him to subscribe; in which the corporeal presence, by transubstantiation, was asserted, and the mass affirmed to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and dead. These, he declared freely, he esteemed gross untruths; and promised to give an answer concerning them in writing.

Accordingly he drew it up; and, when he was brought again to the schools to dispute, he delivered the writing to Dr. Weston, the prolocutor. At eight in the morning the disputation began, and held till two in the afternoon: all which time the archbishop constantly maintained the truth, with great learning and courage, against a multitude of clamorous and insolent opponents: and three days after, he

was again brought forth to oppose Dr. Harpsfield, who was to respond for his degree in divinity; and here he acquitted himself so well, clearly shewing the gross absurdities, and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of transubstantiation, that Weston himself, as great a bigot as he was, could not but dismiss him with commendation. In these disputations, with other slanderous reproaches, the archbishop was accused for corrupting and falsifying a passage which, in his book of the Sacrament, he had quoted from St. Hilary. In answer to which, he replied, that he had transcribed it verbatim from the printed book; and that Dr. Smith, one of their own divines, there present, had quoted it word for word also. But Smith made no reply, being conscious that it was true.

When the disputation was over, one Mr. Heleot remembering that he had Smith's book, went directly to his chamber in University-college; and comparing it with Cranmer's, found the quotations exactly to agree. He afterwards looked into a book of Gardiner's, called, "The Devil's Sophistry," where the same passage was cited; and both the Latin and English agreed exactly with Cranmer's quotation and translation. Upon this he resolved to carry the said books to the archbishop in prison, that he might produce them in his own vindication.

When he came thither, he was stopped and brought before Dr. Weston and his colleagues,
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who, upon information of his design, charged him with treason, and abetting Cranmer in his heresy; and committed him to prison. The next day he was again brought before them, and they threatened to send him to bishop Gardiner, to be tried for treason, unless he would subscribe to the three articles concerning which the disputations had been held. This he then refused; but, being sent for again, after the condemnation of Cranmer, through fear he consented to it; yet not till they had assured him, that, if he sinned by so doing, they would take the guilt upon themselves, and answer for it to God: and yet even this subscription, of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the restoring his books, lest he should shew them to their shame; nor for his entire discharge, the master of University-college being commanded to keep a strict watch over him till Gardiner's pleasure concerning him was known; and, if he heard nothing from him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the twentieth of April, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's, before the queen's commissioners; and refusing to subscribe, was pronounced an heretick, and sentence of condemnation read against him as such: upon which he told them, that he appealed from their unjust sentence and judgment to the judgment of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received to his presence in Heaven, for

maintaining the truth of whose spiritual presence at the altar he was there condemned. After this his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in prison. The latter and a popish convocation met, and did archbishop Cranmer the honour to order his book of the Sacrament to be burnt, in company with the English Bible and Common-Prayer-Book.

Cranmer, in the mean time, spent his melancholy hours in writing a vindication of his treatise concerning the Eucharist, from the objections of Gardiner, who had published a book against it under the feigned name of Marcius Antonius Constantius. Many of the learned men of the Romish persuasion came to visit him in prison, and endeavoured, by disputations and conferences, to draw him over to their church, but in vain.

In 1555, a new commission was sent from Rome for the trial of archbishop Cranmer for heresy; the former sentence against him being void in law, because the authority of the pope was not then re established. The commissioners were Dr Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's delegate, Dr. Storie, and Dr. Martin, doctors of the civil-law, the queen's commissioners.

On the twelfth of September they met at St. Mary's church; and, being seated at the high altar, commanded the archbishop to be brought before them. To the queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme authority

rity of the nation, he paid all due respect, but absolutely refused to show any to the pope's delegate, lest he should seem to make the least acknowledgment of his usurped supremacy. Brooks, in a long oration, exhorted him to consider from whence he was fallen; advising him, in the most earnest and pathetic manner, to return to his holy mother, the Roman-catholic church; and, by the example of his repentance, to reclaim those whom his past errors had misled.

In this oration he betrayed great ignorance both of scripture and antiquity: of scripture, by affirming, that the Arians had more texts, by two and forty, to countenance their errors, than the Catholics had for the maintenance of the truth: of antiquity, by making Origin write of Berengarius, who lived near eight hundred years after him; and, by confounding the great St. Cyprian with another Cyprian at Antioch, laying the magical studies of the latter to the charge of the former.

When he had finished his harangue, Dr. Martin, in a short speech, began to open the trial, acquainting the archbishop with the articles alledged against him, and requiring his answer. The articles contained a charge of perjury, incontinence, and heresy: first, on account of his opposition to the papal tyranny; the second, in respect to his marriage; and the last, on account of the reformation in the late reign, in which he had the chief hand.

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The archbishop having liberty to speak, after he had repeated the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, began with a justification of his conduct in relation of his renouncing the pope's supremacy; the admission of which he proved, by many instances, to be contrary to the natural allegiance of the subject, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the original constitution of the Christian church: and, in the close, he boldly charged Brooks with perjury for sitting there by the pope's authority, which he had solemnly abjured. Brooks endeavoured to vindicate himself, and retort the charge on the archbishop, by pretending, that he was seduced by Cranmer to take that oath: but this, the archbishop told him, was a gross untruth, the pope's supremacy having received the said blow from his predecessor, archbishop Warham, by whose advice king Henry had sent to both the universities, to examine what foundation it had in the word of God: to which he replied, and gave it under their seal, That, by the word of God, the supremacy was vested in the king, not the pope; and that Brooks had then subscribed this determination; and therefore wronged him, in pretending that he was seduced by him. At this Brooks was in a great confusion, and cried, "We came to examine you, and, I think, you examine us." Then Dr. Storic began to rail at the archbishop in an indecent manner, for excepting against the authority of his judge; and moved bishop Brooks

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to require from the archbishop a direct answer to their articles, whereof he stood accused; or, if he continued to deny the authority of the pope, and to decline answering, to proceed to sentence against him. After which, Dr. Martin had a short conference with the archbishop about his conduct in relation to the supremacy and the doctrine of the Eucharist; and then they proceeded to demand his answer to certain interrogatories concerning the crimes laid to his charge: to which he replied in so full and satisfactory a manner, that Brooks thought himself obliged to make another speech, to take off the impression his defence might have made upon the people. It was much unbecoming the gravity of a bishop, consisting only of scurrilous and unchristian railings, and uncouth and sophistical misapplications of scripture and the fathers.

After this, the archbishop was cited to appear at Rome within fourscore days, and there to answer in person: to which he replied, that he would very willingly consent, if the queen would give him leave to go to Rome, and justify the reformation to the pope's face. But this was only a mock-citation, for he was kept all that time close confined; and yet, at the end of fourscore days, was declared contumax, for wilfully absenting himself from Rome, whither he was legally summoned; and, in consequence thereof, was degraded, as we shall see hereafter.

In the mean time, farther to manifest the insincerity of Dr. Stillingfleet, and to vindicate the character of the archbishop, I shall set down his last judgment, concerning the extent of the regal supremacy, as contained in his answer to Dr. Martin. When that doctor asked him, Who was supreme head of the church of England? The bishop answered, "Christ is head of this member, as well as of the whole body of the catholic church." When the doctor again demanded, Whether he had not declared king Henry the head of the church? "Yes," said the bishop, "of all the people in England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." "What!" says Martin, "and not of the church?" "No," replied the archbishop; "for Christ only is head of the church, and of the faith, and religion of the same."

The February following, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner and bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxon, the archbishop was brought before them; and, after they had read their commission from the pope, Bonner, in a scurrilous oration, insulted over him in a most unchristian manner; for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby. In the commission it was declared, that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome; the witnesses on both sides were examined, and the archbishop's council allowed to make the best defence for him they could. At the reading
of.

Of this, the archbishop could not help crying out, "Good God, what lies are these! that I, being continually in prison, and not suffered to have council or advocate at home, should produce witnesses, and appoint my council at Rome! God must needs punish this open and shameless lying."

When Bonner had finished his invective against him, they proceeded to degrade him; and, that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the episcopal habit which they had put on him, was made of canvas and old clouts. Then the archbishop, pulling out of his sleeve a written appeal, delivered it to them, saying, "I appeal to the next general council."

When they had degraded him, they put on him an old thread-bare beadle-gown, and a townsman's coat; and in that garb delivered him over to the secular power. As they were leading him to prison, a gentleman came and gave some money to the bailiffs for the archbishop: but this charitable action gave such offence to Bonner, that he ordered the gentleman to be seized; and, had he not found great friends to intercede for him, would have sent him up to the council to be tried for it.

While the archbishop continued in prison, no endeavours were omitted to work him over to the church of Rome. Many of the most eminent divines in the university resorted to him daily, hoping, by arguments and persuasions, to work on him; but all in vain; for he

he held fast the profession of the faith, without wavering ; and could not be shaken, by any of the terrors of this world, from his constancy in the truth : nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions, bishop Ridley, and bishop Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

At last the papists bethought themselves of a stratagem which proved fatal to him ; they removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church ; they treated him with the greatest civility and respect, and made him great promises of the queen's favour, and the restitution of his former dignities, with many other honours and preferments accumulated, if he would recant. And now, behold a most astonishing instance of human frailty ! The man, who had, with such undaunted resolution, such unshaken constancy, and so truly primitive a spirit of martyrdom, faced the terror of death, and defied the most exquisite tortures, sinks under this last temptation, falls a prey to flattery and hypocrisy, and consents to recant ! It is a vulgar error, even in our best historians, to suppose, that the archbishop acknowledged the whole of popery at once, and subscribed but one recantation. But this mistake is now rectified by the labour of the industrious Mr. Strype, who has discovered how
subtilly,

subtilly he was drawn in by the papists to subscribe six different papers; the first being expressed in ambiguous words, capable of a favourable construction; and the five following pretended to be only explanations of the first.

It is very probable, that, had they acquainted Cranmer with the whole of their design at once, he would never have been seduced to redeem his life with such a dishonourable compliance: but, when they had, by their hypocrisy and artifice, drawn him in to a first and second recantation, ashamed to retract after he had gone so far, and unwilling to lose the benefit of his past subscriptions, prevailed with him to go on. Having gained ground upon him thus far, they grew bold and barefaced; and, in the fifth paper (which is in Fox's Martyrology, and has been commonly thought to be his only recantation) they required him to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian heresies and errors; to acknowledge the one holy catholic church to be that whereof the pope is the head; and to declare him the supreme bishop, and Christ's vicar, to whom all Christians ought to be subject.

Then followed an express acknowledgment of transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, purgatory, and of all the doctrines of the church of Rome in general; with a prayer to God to forgive his past opposition to them; and an earnest intreaty to all, who had been misled by his doctrine and example, to return to the
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unity of the church. And yet even this, full and express as it was, did not give content; but a sixth was still required; which was drawn up in such strong and ample terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it; containing a prolix acknowledgment of all the popish errors and corruptions, and a most grievous accusation of himself as a blasphemer, an enemy of Christ, and a murderer of souls; on account of his being the author of king Henry's divorce; and of all the calamities, schisms, and heresies, of which that was the fountain. This last paper he subscribed on the eighteenth of March; not in the least suspecting that the papists designed, notwithstanding all these subscriptions, to bring him to the stake; and that the writ was already signed for his execution.

These six papers were, soon after his death, sent to the press by Bonner; and published, with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to speak at St. Mary's before his execution; and, though he then spake to a quite contrary effect, and revoked all his former recantations, yet Bonner had the confidence to publish this to the world, as if it had been approved and made use of by the archbishop.

The day appointed for his execution was the twenty-first of March; and Dr. Cole was sent to Oxford to prepare a sermon for the occasion. The day before, Cole visited him in the prison, whither he was now removed; and
asked

asked him, if he stood firm in the faith he had subscribed? To which Cranmer gave a satisfactory answer. The next morning Cole visited him again; exhorted him to constancy, and gave him money to dispose of to the poor, as he saw convenient.

Soon after, he was brought to St. Mary's church, and placed on a low scaffold over against the pulpit. Then Dr. Cole began his sermon; the chief scope whereof was, to endeavour to give some reasons why it was expedient that Cranmer should suffer, notwithstanding his recantation: and, in the close, he addressed himself particularly to the archbishop, exhorting him to bear up with courage against the terrors of death; and, by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the catholic church, and to the profession of the true apostolical faith.

The archbishop, who, till now, had not the least notice of his intended execution, was struck with horror at the base inhumanity and unparalleled cruelty (not to be exceeded in the infernal regions!) of their proceedings. It is utterly impossible to express what inward agony he felt, and what bitter anguish his soul was perplexed with. During the whole sermon he wept incessantly: sometimes lifting up his eyes to Heaven, sometimes casting them down to the ground, with marks of the utmost dejection.

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When it was ended, being moved to make a confession of his faith, and give the world satisfaction of his dying a good catholic, he consented, and, kneeling down, began the following prayer :

“ O Father of Heaven ! O Son of God, Redeemer of the world ! O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, three persons and one God ! have mercy upon me, the most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner ! I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more greivously than tongue can express ! Whither, then, shall I go ? or, Where shall I fly for succour ? To heaven, I am ashamed to lift up mine eyes ; and, on earth, I find no refuge ! What shall I then do ? Shall I despair ? God forbid ! O, good God, thou art merciful, and refuseth none who come unto thee for succour ! To thee, therefore, do I run ; to thee do I humble myself ; saying, O Lord, my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy infinite mercy ! O God, the Son, wast thou not made man ? this great mystery was not wrought for few or small offences only : neither didst thou give thy son to die, O God the Father, for our smaller crimes, but for the greatest sins of the whole world ; so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do now in this moment. Wherefore take pity on me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy : for, though my sins be great, yet thy
mercy

mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy name's sake, and that it may be glorified thereby, and for thy dear son Jesus Christ's sake; in whose words I conclude: Our Father, &c."

Having finished the Lord's Prayer, he rose from his knees; and, after he had exhorted the people to a contempt of the vanities of this sinful and deceitful world, a patient obedience to the queen, mutual love and charity, and bounty to the poor; he told them, that, being now on the brink of eternity, he would freely declare unto them his real faith, and opinion, without the least reserve or dissimulation. Then he repeated the Apostle's Creed, and professed his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Testament: after which he declared his great and unfeigned repentance, for having, contrary to his faith, subscribed the popish heresies; lamented, with many tears, his grievous fall; and declared, that the hand, which had so offended, should be burnt before the rest of his body. Then he renounced the pope, in the most express terms; and professed his belief concerning the Eucharist, to be the same with what he had asserted in his book against Gardiner.

This was a grievous disappointment to the papists; they made loud clamours, and charged him with hypocrisy and falshood. To which he meekly replied, That he was a plain man, and never acted the hypocrite but when he was seduced by them to a recantation.—

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Upon this they hurried him to the stake ; to which he approached with a chearful countenance ; and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of many of the papists, continued still to declare his utter abhorrence of the popish errors, and hearty repentance for having recanted.

After this, he kneeled down and prayed ; and then, having undressed himself, and taken leave of his friends, he was bound to the stake. As soon as the fire was kindled, he stretched forth his right arm, and held it, stedfastly and without shrinking, in the flame (only once he wiped his face with it) till it was quite consumed, which was some time before the fire reached his body, nor expressing any great sense of pain. He often cried out, “ This unworthy hand ! this unworthy hand ; ” and, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, expired, with the dying words of St. Stephen in his mouth : “ Lord Jesus receive my spirit ! ”

He was a man naturally of a mild and gentle temper ; not easily provoked, and yet so easy to forgive, and reward good for evil, that it became a kind of proverb concerning him, “ Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live.”

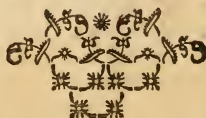
His candour and sincerity, faithfulness and integrity, meekness and humility, were admired by all who conversed with him : and, when he was in power, his lenity to the papists was so great, that he was charged with
remissions

remifness and negligence: but his reply was, That men ought to have time allowed them to difentangle themselves from their prejudices; and that, in the mean time, gentle ufage was more likely to have a better influence on them than could be expected from rigorous treatment.

He had, by his intercession with king Henry, preserved the present queen's life, when her father's anger was inflamed to such an extravagant pitch, and her ruin seemed so irrevocably fixed, that neither the duke of Norfolk, nor bishop Gardiner, durst interpose a word in her favour, lest they should perish with her: but the ungrateful queen, forgetting this noble service, and his eminent zeal for her succession, could not rest till she had brought him to the stake.

As to his learning, he was an excellent divine. His knowledge in the scriptures and fathers was equalled by few of his time: he was also well read in the canon and civil laws, and not unacquainted with the more polite part of learning. He had, in two folio volumes, made large collections from the scriptures, fathers, councils, and schoolmen; and digested them into common places: by which he bravely justified the English reformation, and shewed how far the church of Rome had degenerated from the doctrine, worship, and discipline, of the primitive church.

These valuable remains, after they had been, for some time lost, the papists endeavouring to have them suppressed, were, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, happily recovered by archbishop Parker.



T H E



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Bishop Gardiner.



THE LIFE OF

STEPHEN GARDINER.

THIS great man was an able lawyer, a learned divine, and shrewd statesman; being bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, in the sixteenth century. He was born of obscure parents at Bury St. Edmond, in the county of Suffolk: but some very good authorities give us to understand, that he was the illegitimate son of a prelate nobly descended and royally allied, who took pains to conceal a circumstance so discrediting to himself, by bestowing his mistress on one of his meaner servants, whose name this infant bore: there appears to be the greatest probability that this was really the case: and, from an original picture of his, painted by Holben, we have good grounds to conclude, that his birth ought to be fixed to 1483.

We know nothing of his education, or the manner in which he passed his youth; but, that he was sent to the university of Cambridge, where he studied in Trinity-hall with great diligence and success. He was distinguished there by his quick parts, his correct pen, his elegance in writing, and speaking

Latin, and for his extraordinary stile in Greek, which procured him very high compliments, as to his acquisitions in literature, when he was in no condition to reward flatterers. In process of time he applied himself entirely to the civil and canon laws, for which that learned foundation was very famous.

The reputation he attained at Cambridge, soon opened him a passage into the favour and confidence of several of the greatest men of that age. First, as some report, he was taken under the protection of that generous and potent peer, Thomas, duke of Norfolk; and afterwards received into the family of the still more potent cardinal Wolsey, in quality of secretary: but, whatever hopes he might entertain of rising at court, he had still academical honours in view; and, in 1520, he received the degree of doctor of civil law; and, the year following, he was made doctor of canon-law also. There is no question that, as the cardinal of York's secretary, he had a good provision made for him; but this must have been by way of pension or salary; for preferment, so far as we find yet, he had none.

In 1525, he was, by an accident, admitted at once into the king's presence and favour, to the great satisfaction of the powerful cardinal his master; though afterwards, as the politicians remarked, the cardinal sunk in the same proportion as this servant of his rose.

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At this juncture, the king's affairs at Rome were but in an untoward situation, the Roman pontiff, Clement VII. having address enough to feed the king's agents with fair promises, according to the standing maxims of that court ; but, in effect, making no progress at all towards the king's point ; which was his obtaining a divorce from his queen, Catharine of Arragon. His majesty resolved to send some person thither, in whom he could entirely confide, and of whose abilities and attachment he had a like opinion. After much consideration, he fixed upon our doctor, now become a master of Trinity-hall ; and, as bishop Burnet remarks, esteemed, at that time, the best civil lawyer in England ; to whom he joined Edward Fox, provost of King's College, in Cambridge.

These commissioners departed in February, 1528. In their journey towards Italy, they executed a commission at the court of Paris, where, by warm and vigorous representations of what their master had done, and might do, for king Francis, they obtained that monarch's letter to the pope, in as strong terms as could be desired, in support of king Henry's demands. When they came to Oviato, where the pope then was, Dr. Gardiner used free language with his holiness, shewed him the danger he was in of losing the king by playing a double game ; and how much injury he would do the cardinal if he failed his expectations. By these measures all was obtained

which his instructions required, and a new commission, directed to the cardinals Wolsey and Campegius, was issued.

In the course of this long embassy, the pope, whose mind was continually perplexed, and to whom the imperial, French, and English ministers allowed no quiet, fell dangerously ill; the disorders of his affections operating upon the humours of his body: and this, as might be expected, gave a new turn to the intrigues of Rome.

Dr. Gardiner had as large a share in these as any minister; for he laboured the cause of the cardinal of York, in case the pope's death made way for a new election: he also managed the whole affair with his holiness much to the satisfaction of the king, the cardinal, and Anne Bullen; all of whom writ him most thankful and affectionate letters; till, finding the pope was determined to do nothing, Henry called Gardiner from Rome, in order to make use of him in the management of his cause before the legantine court.

Upon his return, he had the archdeaconry of Norfolk bestowed upon him by bishop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained some favours from the pope. He was installed on the first of March, 1529; and this, as far as appears, was his first preferment in the church: but in the state his growth was quicker; for the king, having constant need of his service, and not esteeming it proper to use it while he belonged to another, took him
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from his master Wolsey, and declared him secretary of state.

In this situation he was considered as having a large share in the management of all affairs; and was particularly advised with by the king, when cardinal Campegio declared that the cause was avoked to Rome.

When, in consequence of these proceedings, Wolsey declined in favour, in his distress he had recourse to his old servant, then secretary; and, though some have insinuated the contrary, he met with as sincere returns of gratitude and friendship, as he could desire or expect.

The year ensuing opened with the most important service, at least as his master conceived it, that had been as yet rendered him by Dr. Gardiner; and which, nevertheless, does more honour to his abilities than his virtue: and this was, to manage the university of Cambridge so as to procure their declaration in the king's cause, after Dr. Cranmer's book should appear in support of it. This, in conjunction with Dr. Fox, he accomplished, though not without much artifice and address, as his own letters shews; which sufficiently demonstrates, that men, and even great bodies of men, have been much the same in all ages. After this great exploit, as it was then thought, his ascent in the church was marvelously quickened.

In the spring of the year 1531, he was installed archdeacon of Leicester, resigning that

of Norfolk, which he had before; and, towards the close of the month of September ensuing, he also resigned that in favour of his coadjutor Dr. Edward Fox, who became afterwards bishop of Hereford. In the month of October, he was incorporated at the university of Oxford; and, on the twenty-seventh of November, 1531, he was consecrated bishop of Winchester, contrary to what many writers assert, that he was not promoted to this see till about three years after. On the fifth of December following, the temporalities were restored; which is a sufficient proof, that the former is the right date.

Dr. Gardiner, it seems, was not apprized of the king's intentions, who would sometimes roast him soundly, and, at the instant he bestowed it, put him in mind of it. "I have," said he, "often squared with you, Gardiner, (a word he used for these kind of rebukes) but I love you never the worse, as the bishopric I give you will convince you."

He sat with Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, when that prelate pronounced the sentence of divorce against queen Catharine; or, rather, declared her marriage with the king null and void, on the twentieth of May, 1533. The same year he was sent over to Marseilles, that he might have an eye to the interview between the French king and the pope; from whence his master suspected some detriment might spring: and there he intimated the appeal of Henry VIII. to a general council

council, in case the pope should pretend to proceed in his cause : and he did the like on the behalf of the archbishop of Canterbury, who made a particular application to him for that purpose.

Upon his return to England, he was called upon, as other bishops were, not only to acknowledge and yield obedience to the king as supreme head of the church, but to defend it; which he did : and this defence, or court-sermon, he published : and this is that celebrated piece entitled, “ Of True Obedience.” His pen was made use of upon other occasions, and he never declined vindicating the king’s proceedings in the business of the divorce, the subsequent marriage, or throwing off the dominion of the see of Rome ; which writings then acquired him the highest reputation.

In the next year, 1535, he had some dispute with archbishop Cranmer, on account of his visiting his diocese ; upon which occasion there appeared a good deal of heat on both sides. When he went over again to France, to resume his embassy, he had the ill luck to differ with another archbishop of Canterbury, as he afterwards became, Dr. Reginald Pole, then dean of Exeter, whom, as king Henry’s bitterest enemy, he prevailed on the French king to remove out of his dominions ; whence those disputes grew which afterwards became public.

While he was thus employed, Crimisele demanded his opinion about a religious league with the princes of Germany; which, on that bottom, he dissuaded; and advised making an alliance, grounded on political motives, and strengthened by subsidies, which he thought would last longer, and answer the king's ends better. In 1538, he was sent ambassador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquitted himself well in regard to his commission; but either fell into some suspicion, or was in danger of having something fastened to him, in respect to his secret correspondence with the pope, which at that juncture might have been his ruin. It is asserted, that he was chief instigator of those severities, and was the principal author of all the cruelties committed, about this time, upon heretics, as they were then called; which, being a matter of great consequence, the reader may expect should be more clearly discussed. The only way of doing this, will be to consider a few of those sanguinary proceedings in which he is said to have had the chief hand; for this will shew us what credit is due to the general suggestion, that persecution was the great object of his councils.

Amongst these, the first that occurs is the case of Lambert, who was burnt for denying the real presence in the sacrament, and which is commonly attributed to the virulent spirit of the bishop of Winchester. The statute,
commonly

commonly called the six articles, and which, it must be owned, was the law on which many were put to death, is attributed to his contrivance, and said to have been passed by his influence; having been warmly opposed, both by the archbishop, and the vicegerent Cromwell; but those who alledge he had no credit with the king, and was little beloved by the people, cannot expect an implicit faith to attend such an assertion. That he was principally concerned in drawing it, and that he was very earnest in promoting it in the house of lords, in conjunction with the duke of Norfolk, and other lords spiritual and temporal, those must have but little knowledge in English history who will attempt to deny. It was not long after this, that Robert Barnes fell under prosecution, and, in the issue, was condemned to be burnt; who, because he shewed particular spleen against bishop Gardiner, and was first committed to prison for want of respect to him in a sermon, he is surmised to have been the author of all his sufferings, and the person by whose power that unfortunate fryar was at length brought to the stake; which is mentioned as a second instance of his good will to persecution. There is no doubt, that, in the course of this reign, the bishop of Winchester must have done many things against his inclination, and several against his conscience. He was obliged to take a share in the divorce of Anne of Cleves, which was none of the most honour-

able; and he was likewise obliged to bear a part in that of queen Catharine Howard, which, considering his attachment to their most noble family, could be no very pleasing employment. But in these, and other compliances, he had many companions, and the excuses made for them by some great pens, may serve for him; or the reader will pass sentence as he pleases, since we have no intention to disguise faults, but to disclose truths.

Upon the death of Sir Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, he was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, 1540; which preferment was very acceptable to him. He still preserved his mastership of Trinity hall; and it was well he did preserve it, since, in the next reign, this, in most peoples opinion, preserved the foundation. As he was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, without influence, he was very assiduous in his office, that he might conciliate the affections of its members, and did all he could to assist them with his interest at court, which, when he had done any great service, was very good. Certain it is, that whatever power or preferments his compliances obtained under this monarch were dearly purchased, since they were held in continual hazard, and embittered with violent storms of royal resentment; which, though, as the prelate himself says, he knew how to sustain without sinking, must, nevertheless, be exceedingly distasteful.

In some conjunctures too, we are satisfied, they filled him with many apprehensions, and, though he might be dextrous in sometimes shifting off the king's ill-humours, yet at others, how great or how alert soever his spirit might be, he was forced to bear slights with patience, and even to submit to very disagreeable supplications and expressions of deep humility, and great sense of his own failings, directly contrary to the conviction of his conscience and understanding.

In the time of king Henry, these were indispensable conditions of ministerial greatness; nor was there any such thing as enjoying court-favours, without being exposed also to threats and frowns. Bishop Gardiner felt these, as Cranmer and others did alternately; living now in the sun-shine, and by and by in the shade, or rather, under a cloud. But, in the latter end of the king's life, the prospect grew darker than ever. In 1544, if we may rely on the credit of John Fox, who assures us he had what he relates from one Morrice, who was secretary to archbishop Cranmer, this prelate had a very narrow escape from the greatest dangers to which he was ever exposed in his whole life. He had a secretary, and a relation, one German Gardiner, who is said to have been much in his favour, and who had distinguished himself by his conferences with John Frith, the martyr, an account of which he published. This young clergyman being suspected in the matter of the king's supremacy,

cy, a prosecution was commenced against him ; and, his obstinacy being great, he was executed as a traytor, March 7, 1544. The enemies of the bishop, and, as Fox says, the duke of Suffolk particularly, suggested to the king, that it was very likely, notwithstanding all he had written, that he was of the secretary's opinion, and that, if he was once in the tower, matter enough might be found against him ; on which his majesty consented to send him thither. But the bishop, having intelligence of this, went immediately to the king, submitted with the utmost humility, confessed whatever his majesty charged him with, and, to the no small disappointment of his enemies, by complying with the king's humour, and shewing the deepest concern for his real or pretended failings, obtained full pardon. Yet after this, we may suppose, provoked by such usage, for, as Fox states it, one cannot avoid seeing it was a design to destroy him at any rate ; he thought of resigning upon this invention, and of turning their own artillery upon his adversaries ; particularly against Cranmer, as we have shewn in that prelate's life, with the issue of their difference.

After this, the king opening himself to bishop Gardiner, upon some suspicions he entertained of his last queen, Catharine Parr, as inclined to heresy ; he so far improved these jealousies, as to prepare a paper of articles against her, which the king signed, and it was agreed to send her to the Tower ; but the
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chancellor, who was entrusted with this paper, dropped it out of his bosom, and it was immediately carried to the princess. She so wrought upon the king's affections, as to dispel his suspicions; and this brought severe reproaches upon the chancellor, and the king's resentment against the bishop grew so strong, that he would never see his face afterwards.

We need not wonder, if, standing in this light with the king, when drawing towards his latter end, he left him out of his will, and did not appoint him one of the counsellors to prince Edward, as he once intended. Sanders alledges another reason for this, which was, that Gardiner, taking some favourable opportunity, persuaded the king to restore the supremacy to the pope, either by a solemn declaration in parliament, if there was time to call one, or by an authentic act of his own, if there was not; which would sufficiently manifest his intention. In this respect, the king, as he tells the story, soon after changed his mind; and thence proceeded his enmity to Gardiner. But all is pure fiction, for bishop Gardiner himself, in a sermon before king Philip and queen Mary, mentions some such thoughts in the king during the northern rebellion; and, had there been a grain of truth in it, no doubt would have mentioned his inclination at this time. Besides, there actually was a parliament then in being, which was dissolved at his death. Some other reasons were assigned for the king's excluding him in his

his testament with no better foundation. But whatever usage he might meet with, at any time from his master, he shewed, upon all occasions, very high respect for his memory, and ever spoke and wrote of him with great deference; and though Fox treats him very coarsely on that head, yet others have thought there was in it as much of prudence as of gratitude. For was his conduct less wary in the reign of king Edward VI. while he would never set a hand to the great work of reformation; though he would not oppose it, farther than by humbly remonstrating against it. However this could not prevent his imprisonment, which, as a sensible author observes, was in all respects extraordinary, and out of the common forms of justice.

He was sent for, when in London, to attend the council, three weeks before the visitors, then appointed, came into his diocese; and, because he would not promise to receive the homilies, and pay obedience to whatever the king's visitors might require, the council, notwithstanding his close reasoning the point, as to its consistency with law, and his earnest entreaty to give him a little space to consider, committed him close prisoner to the Fleet. He was there, as we see by his letters and petitions, very strictly kept, and very indifferently used; which must have been by order, since John Fox has marked on the margin of one of his applications for redress, that the warden of the Fleet was his friend. In the end he was discharged

charged like a common malefactor, under colour of the king's general pardon, though never charged judicially with any offence. The very dates prove these facts; he was committed September the twenty-fifth, the parliament assembled November the fourth, was prorogued December the twenty-fourth, and he was set at liberty before the close of that year, 1547. Besides this, all that we have advanced is supported by unquestionable authorities. In the course of this imprisonment, it came out, that the famous state-book of religion, published by authority, under the title of "The Erudition of Christian Man," was compiled chiefly by bishop Gardiner. By comparing this with the religious systems in the reign of Edward VI. the difference may be seen between his notions and those of Cranmer; and from hence we may discern, the probability of his being in earnest in his declarations, without supposing, as almost all writers do, misled therein by the papists themselves, that in his heart he was a bigot to popery. Archbishop Cranmer was once as well pleased with the book afore-mentioned as any body, and had recommended it as strenuously; but now, having changed his mind as to the real presence, he was not willing the world should know its true author; and Gardiner, being touched with his insinuations, replied very eagerly in defence of his book.

Upon his obtaining his liberty, the bishop went down to his diocese, and there was so far from

from creating any trouble or disturbance, that he was remarkably active and diligent in giving obedience, and seeing that it was given, to the laws concerning religion; but those who had a dislike to him, would not suffer him to be long quiet. They were no sooner informed of his returning to town, than they procured an order for him to come before the council, where he was roughly treated, and then directed to keep his house till he gave satisfaction, which was to be done in a sermon preached before the king and his ministers, in a public audience, for the matter of which, he was directed, as well what he should not, as what he should say, by Sir William Cecil. On St. Peter's day, the bishop did accordingly preach, but was so far from giving satisfaction, that the very next day, June the thirtieth 1548, he was sent to the Tower, and continued there a prisoner during all that reign. It was very near a year, notwithstanding repeated applications; that he continued there, without having scarce any notice taken of him, his chaplain having admittance but once when he was ill, and then restrained because his life was not thought in danger. When the protector was deposed, or some small time before he had hopes given him of his release, and from those it is likely who could have done it if they had judged it proper. But finding himself deceived, he took the freedom of applying himself, by letter, to the council, of which

which we have probably a true, though certainly a very unpolished, account from honest John Stowe ; who likewise tells us, very plainly, why he published it ; which, in effect, was, that no body else would.

When the duke of Somerset, though removed from his high office, found means to come again into power, and to be called to council, the affair of bishop Gardiner was brought once more on the carpet, and the duke and others, by virtue of an order of that board, went to confer with him in the Tower, June the ninth 1550. It was proposed that he should make a submission for what was passed, should testify his approbation of all that had been done in religion since he had been laid aside, and that he should promise obedience for the future. The two last points Winchester readily answered to, and actually signed all that was expected from him ; but refused his assent to the first, insisting upon his innocence. Much solicitation there was, with what intent one cannot say ; at last, the bishop, perceiving they rose in their demands, told them roundly he would do nothing in a prison ; and, that he did not seek either favour or pity, but justice. On the nineteenth of July he was brought to the council, and being asked, whether he would subscribe the last article or not, he answered in the negative ; and it was thereupon declared to him, that his bishopric should be sequestered ; and, if in three months he did not comply, they would go still farther.

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When the three months were fully expired, and the bishop remained in the same sentiments, a resolution was taken to proceed judicially against him, in order to deprive him of the see of Winchester, and what other preferments he had under the authority of the king's commission, in which the archbishop presided. These commissioners began their proceedings December the fifteenth, and ended them February the fourteenth following, having had in all two and twenty sessions, when the grand affair was finished, and the bishop deprived, for irreverence to the king's authority; though Gardiner very prudently laid the weight of the whole on the delegators, who deprived him, and, by protesting and appealing to the king, shewed plainly that all the hopes of redress he had, lay in the crown, and must spring from the exercise of that supremacy to which they represented him. All the remaining part of his reign, however, the bishop remained in the same state, that is, a close prisoner in the Tower; and yet, not so strictly kept, at least all the latter part of the time, as the order of the council seemed to require; for certain it is, that in this space, he not only wrote many controversial pieces, but also composed variety of Latin poems, and translated into verse several beautiful passages in the books of Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Job, and other poetical parts of the Old Testament. He also kept up his spirits all that time, and was wont to say very confidently,

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as either believing it, or desiring to be thought to believe it, that he should live to see another turn, and another court, in which he should be as great as ever.

On the death of king Edward, no doubt, he foresaw that turn was near, notwithstanding the new court set up in his neighbourhood, for that unfortunate lady, queen Jane. On the nineteenth of July 1553, queen Mary was publicly proclaimed by that very council which the day before owned the right of her competitor, and gave her the coarse and injurious title of bastard of Henry VIII. On the third of August the queen made her solemn entry into the Tower, when bishop Gardiner, in the name of himself and his fellow prisoners, the duke of Norfolk, the dutchess of Somersæt, the lord Courtney, and others of high rank, made a congratulatory speech to her majesty, who gave them all their liberties. On the eighth of the same month he performed in the queen's presence, the obsequies for the late king Edward, whose body was buried in Westminster, with the English service, by archbishop Cranmer, the funeral sermon being preached by bishop Day. On the ninth, bishop Gardiner went to Winchester-house, in Southwark, after a confinement of somewhat more than five years. On the twenty-third he was declared chancellor of England, though his patent did not pass till the twenty-first of September. On the first of October he had the honour of crowning the queen, and on
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the fifth of the same month he opened the first parliament in her reign. By this time he was in possession again of his academical honours; for as at the beginning of his misfortunes the university of Cambridge elected in his place the duke of Somerset, and, on his fall, the duke of Northumberland; so when he fell, they chose the bishop of Winchester for their chancellor, and restored him also to his lordship of Trinity-hall, then possessed by doctor Mowse.

At this juncture, the bishop of Winchester, either through the queen's esteem for, and confidence in, him; or, as some suggest, though without any great evidence, through the recommendation of Charles V. was possessed of a larger compass of civil and ecclesiastical power, than any English minister ever enjoyed, except cardinal Woolsey; and in his management of this, in all its various branches, though taken from so long an imprisonment, and labouring under the weight of so great an age as seventy, his bitterest enemies must allow he gave indubitable marks of superior talents. If contriving to accomplish, and that in a short time, things so great and difficult, as to surpass all men's expectations, be, as the world seems agreed they are, sure signs of superior talents. The queen is said, by most of our historians, to have recommended three great points to the bishop of Winchester's care, with equal concern, all of which were attended with almost equal difficulties; the first was,
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the clearing the legitimacy of her birth, and annulling the divorce of her mother; though this was apparently bastardizing her sister, and presumptive successor. The next was, restoring the old religion, and reconciling the nation to Rome, in the same manner as before her father's desertion. The third was, obtaining the consent of parliament, to her marriage with prince Philip; which was so unpopular, that the former house of commons prepared an address to the queen not to marry a foreigner.

Amongst all the secret and open obstacles, which were not a few, that our minister had to overcome in the prosecution of these measures, none probably gave him more trouble than getting over his dislike to every one of them. The procuring the divorce was the first source he rendered the father, and now reversing this divorce, and branding all who had been concerned in it, was the first service required by the daughter. He had also assisted, promoted, and defended, the king's supremacy, which made way for all that followed, as much or more than any in the kingdom, and had the reputation also of penning what was published in defence of that prince's marriage with Anne Bullen, and all that happened thereupon, which was now to be condemned as null and illegal. Besides, so far as we are guided by unquestionable authorities, this seems to have been going greater lengths than he intended; for hitherto he
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had not entered into a correspondence with the pope, or done any thing in ecclesiastical affairs but in virtue of the queen's supremacy, an authority more agreeable to his system of divinity than that of the Roman pontiff; but in that particular the queen was inflexible, and her passion as strong to relinquish this title to the pope, as her father's ambition had been to take it from him. The Spanish match crossed the mind of Winchester, as much as it did that of the nation; he foresaw that many troubles would follow from it, and that the queen would enjoy none of that felicity with which she flattered herself in the prospect. But he well knew what a temper she inherited from her parents, and that she would find ministers enough to carry into execution all that she proposed. Upon this consideration, joined to a sense of his own danger from what was passed, if a new revolution happened, he resolved to remain where he was, and employ his utmost skill to render the measures of queen Mary's reign as beneficial to herself, and as little burthensome to her people, as in their nature they could be.

The convocation being assembled, he procured such questions to be moved there, as he judged conducive to the change he proposed to make; yet went no farther than declaring the real presence in the sacrament, which made way for reviving the old service on the twenty-first of December. In parliament he went the same pace, repealing, by a single law,

law, more acts, passed in the reign of king Edward, respecting religion ; by which those who were of that religion countenanced by king Henry, became as safe as they could wish ; and even the grossest papists were out of danger, yet not restored to power. The queen's legitimacy was established, the divorce declared null and void, the whole fault being thrown upon archbishop Cranmer.

These extraordinary changes were wrought rather by address and fair speeches, than by violence and corruption, though some of our writers say the contrary. As to force, the queen, a few guards excepted, had none ; and her care as to money was the same, though the bishop of Winchester was a frugal minister. But what seems to put corruption out of the question in this parliament, is, that after all, the members could not be brought to relish the queen's marriage to Don Philip ; and therefore, the chancellor advised the dissolving this assembly before the close of the year. And thus two of the three great points were accomplished. But much greater difficulties were to be surmounted before the third could be brought to bear. The marriage treaty was left entirely in the hands of bishop Gardiner, and it is allowed he managed it very dextrously. He made use of the great reluctance shewn by the last parliament, to procure such articles as might secure the nation against the ambition of Philip and his Spaniards ; and foreseeing expences might follow upon this

match, notwithstanding the hard bargain he had made, he procured, as is said, half a million sterling from the emperor, to facilitate the approbation of a new parliament. But while these preparations employed those in the cabinet, such as abhorred this match were contriving very formidable measures for its disappointment. Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew of Cornwall, laid the plan of a deep and dangerous insurrection, in which the unfortunate duke of Suffolk had just share enough to bring his own head, and, which was much more to be regretted, the heads of lady Jane, and her husband lord Guilford Dudley, to the block. The whole scheme miscarried by the ill management, and, to say the truth, the want of honesty in the chiefs.

All insurrections, when suppressed, are useful to those against whom they are raised, more especially when managed by men of parts and dexterity. None knew better how to procure, or to use advantages, than the bishop of Winchester; and he so well managed men's hopes and fears, with every other help he had, that when the queen's second parliament met, April the second 1554, it very soon appeared he might prevail on them to give a sanction to his measures, whatever they were. The terms of the queen's marriage, as he settled them, met with very little opposition; and as for making severe laws against heretics, it is allowed the bishop had no other trouble

trouble than to restrain them, which in several instances he did. His own and the wiser bishop's zeal, not flaming near so high as that of this house of commons. In the whole of his conduct through this parliament, over which he had as much influence as minister ever had, there was nothing done that was either unworthy of his station, or injurious to his country; on the contrary, foreseeing that some who had access to the queen might make an ill use of her confidence, and engage her, by plausible promises, to countenance things every way beneath her, and dangerous to her subjects, he procured this to be put out of her power, by a short law, drawn by his direction. But when the great measures aimed at were adjusted, the chancellor, supposing that what remained for accomplishing the whole of the queen's plan, might be compassed more effectually after the marriage; the queen, on the fifth of May, came to the parliament, and, having given her consent to fifteen bills, dissolved that assembly.

All obstacles to the marriage being now removed, and the circumstances of the house of Austria making it necessary to hasten it, king Philip put to sea, and arrived, towards the close of July, at Southampton, escorted by a considerable fleet, which, however, was obliged to pay homage to that of England, in the narrow seas; such was the temper of those times, and the vigour of that administration. He proceeded, with a numerous train of nobility,

bility, from Southampton to Winchester, where he was received, and splendidly entertained, by the bishop; on St. James's day, the tutelary saint of Spain, he was, by that prelate, solemnly married to the queen, in the cathedral, the emperor Charles V. resigning to him the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and many nominal sovereignties, upon the marriage. In his way to London, the king took Windsor, where he was installed knight of the garter, and made his entry into this capital on the eleventh of August 1554, with prodigious magnificence, and, like all new princes, with universal acclamations.

The chancellor, well knowing this fair weather would not continue long, resolved to avail himself of it while it lasted; and, therefore, called a new parliament about the middle of November the same year. A very little time after the session began, cardinal Pole came into England, with the title of legate, not much to the real good liking either of the king or chancellor.

By these gradations all things were brought back to their old situation; and the sanguinary laws for repressing heresy, revived and carried into execution.

Thus the bishop of Winchester paid the full price of his exaltation to the ministry, and obtained, in spite of all difficulties, all that the queen had desired. But the joy in this was quickly troubled by the bloody persecution set on foot in almost all parts of the kingdom,

kingdom, whether by the advice, and with the entire concurrence, of the bishop of Winchester, as many historians affirm, it is but just should be more largely discussed than the bounds of this narrative will allow. Certain it is, that, to this time, our prelate had not discovered any thing of this disposition. He is indeed reputed, by many of our historians, a great dissembler; but in this acted quite another part. In all public transactions he professed himself always with the same opinion with the council, and did not aim at screening himself from popular odium, by putting on a cloak of moderation. But in all the trials, where, by virtue of cardinal Pole's commission, he was obliged to be, he was exceedingly assiduous to shew the prisoners, that, in the matter of the real presence, which was most insisted on, they might easily save their lives, by complying with subscriptions drawn in very general terms; till, by foul language, they convinced him that he had to do with men who were as little to be wheedled as frightened out of their principles. This surely proves that he was not desirous of severities, or persecuted for the sake of gratifying a cruel temper, or to revenge past injuries. And that such protestants as were of milder natures, and content to reserve themselves for better times, when driven to distress, were well received by him, and not barely screened but encouraged and protected, without offering any violence to their consciences, farther than locking them

up, and committing the key to the custody of their own discretions, we may very safely affirm is a point out of dispute. For towards the close of the year, it was strongly reported, and indeed generally believed, that the queen was with child; for which rejoicings were made, and prayers appointed for her safe delivery. The chancellor made a right use of this wrong notion; he persuaded her majesty to set several prisoners at liberty, that had been near a year in confinement, and for that purpose went in person to the Tower, January the eighteenth 1555, and discharged the archbishop of York, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir James Crafts, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Edward Warner, Sir George Harper, Sir William Saintlow, Sir Gawin Carew, Sir Andrews Dudley, William Gibs, Carthbert Vaughan, John Harrington, Esqrs. Mr. Tremain, and others. One of these had a little before taken the liberty of expostulating with him very freely, notwithstanding which he had (beyond his expectations perhaps) his liberty amongst the rest. His son has given us, in an account of this adventure, some passages relating to bishop Gardiner, very well worth notice.

The three months next ensuing, bishop Gardiner was employed in carrying the laws lately revived against heretics, into execution; and sat often (to his eternal disgrace) by virtue of a commission from cardinal Pole, as the pope's legate, at Winchester house in Southwark, to examine such as were brought
before

before him. Yet, we are told, he soon grew weary, and would proceed no farther; upon which the cruel and invidious task was put upon Bonner; neither was it long before he grew relax, till quickened by orders from the council, and other measures. But it farther appears in favour of Gardiner, that during his embassy, about this time, to the king of France, the great seal was put into the hands of William marquis of Winchester; and from the council-books it appears, good use was made of it for stirring up the persecution; for quickening of which, writ after writ was issued, and letters directed to the nobility and gentry, as well as clergy, exciting them to give their attendance, with their servants, at the burning of heretics; so that we see this cruel flame raged most when the bishop was abroad, and grew still higher after his death.

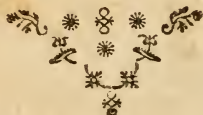
Upon his coming home, he declared plainly, he would have no farther hand in severities, and therefore those apprehended in his diocese were removed into that of London, and so put under the jurisdiction of Bonner, who in a short time fell off again, and had fresh reprimands from the king and queen for his relaxation and lenity. We may, from these instances, perceive, that some made their court to the queen, by promoting these cruel proceedings, and that they were neither pressed, nor could be impeded, by the bishop of Winchester. In matters of government, his influence was still without diminution, and, ac-

cording to his advice, a parliament was summoned to meet in October; for it was one of his maxims, to have short sessions and frequent parliaments. He had projected some additional security for church and abbey lands, which, by a well-timed address from the convocation to the cardinal, which he put into his hands himself, he had, in some measure, preserved to all who possessed them; and this project was afterwards brought to bear by his friend, Mr. secretary Peek. October the twenty-first 1558, he opened the session, with a judicious speech, and was there again on the twenty-third, which was the last time of his appearing in that assembly.

Towards the close of this month, he fell ill, and continued to grow worse and worse to the thirteenth of November 1555, when he departed this life, about the age of seventy-two. He died at the royal palace of Whitehall, about one in the morning; and about three the same morning his body was carried over to Winchester-house, from whence the funeral was performed. His death was a great loss to the queen his mistress, who found no minister that could manage her affairs so well, or keep her on so good terms with the parliaments, from whom, during his administration, she received nothing, but lived upon the settled ordinary revenue of the crown, with some help, it may be, from the treasure brought over by king Philip. His pen also was of no small use, since in polemical writings he was inferior

inferior to none of his contemporaries. The fashion of those times allowed more to exterior expressions of funeral sorrow than ours, and by entertaining the eyes of the vulgar with a lugubrious spectacle of a great man's last journey, impressed on their minds a greater degree of reverence than could be wrought by words. In this point, there was a remarkable attention paid to the bishop; and an author has taken the pains to leave the ceremonies of his obsequies, clearly, circumstantially, and methodically set down: but this was an age, when there was more attention paid to sight than to all the rest of the senses, and more money bestowed, and more diligence used, in setting out such a solemnity, than without such a detail as the above-mentioned could be easily imagined. Many intrigues were set on foot at court, on this great prelate's death, about filling his places, which occasioned some delay in disposing of them. The great seal was, in the mean time, put into the hands of Sir Nicholas Hare, master of the rolls, and, on New-year's-day following, given to Dr. Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York. In the chancellorship of Cambridge he was succeeded by cardinal Pole, who had some inclination to have held his bishopric of Winchester, too, in commendam; but at length it was given to Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln, the modest cardinal contenting himself with a pension of one thousand pounds a year out of the revenue,

for the support of his dignity. As to the mastership of Trinity-hall, Dr. Mowse, who took it as a good protestant in king Edward's time, was now become so good a catholic as to take it again in queen Mary's time; and, in the days of Elizabeth, had a prebend of York bestowed on him, being once more become a protestant. As to the private estate of bishop Gardiner, he disposed of it by will, of which his two old friends, Sir Anthony Brown viscount Montacute, and Dr. Thomas Thirlby bishop of Ely, were the executors.





Cardinal Pool.



THE LIFE OF

CARDINAL POLE.

REGINALD POLE, cardinal, was descended of royal blood, being a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, lord Montague, knight of the garter, and cousin-german to Henry VII. by Margaret, his wife, daughter of George, duke of Clarence, younger brother to king Edward IV. He was born at Tiverton, in Staffordshire, in the year 1500; and, after the greatest care had been taken by his mother to form his mind and manners from his cradle, he was sent, at seven years of age, to be instructed in grammar by the Carthusians, in the monastery at Shene, near Richmond, in Surry; and, at about the age of twelve, became a nobleman of Magdalen-colledge, in Oxford, where an apartment was provided for him in the president's lodgings. The famous Linacre, and William Latimer, two of the greatest masters of those times in the Greek and Latin tongues, were our young nobleman's principal preceptors; and he made a considerable progress in his studies under them.

In June, 1515, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, having first kept the regular

exercise for it ; and the same year supplicated the congregation for leave to wear such a habit and robes as were suitable to his birth, and to be admitted into the public library. Some time afterwards he entered into deacon's orders ; and, on the nineteenth of March, 1517, was made prebendary of Roscomb, in the church of Salisbury ; to which was added the prebendary of Yatminster Secunda, in the same church, on the tenth of April, 1519 ; the deanery of Wimbourne monastery, or minister, in Dorsetshire ; and that of Exeter, in Devonshire, being conferred on him about the same time.

These early promotions were no more than the genuine effects of the munificent temper of king Henry VIII. to whom he was related, and who directed his breeding to the church, with a design to raise him to the highest dignities in it. Nor was Pole undeserving of the royal bounty. To a good share of natural parts were joined a sweet and noble temper, and a love of letters.

He was now nineteen years of age, and, having laid a good ground-work of learning at Oxford, it was determined, according to the custom of these times, to send him, for further improvement, to Italy, where the liberal arts and sciences then flourished. This destination was very agreeable to him ; he had himself solicited it, and a support suitable to his rank was provided by the king, who allowed

lowed him a large yearly pension, besides the profits of his dignities.

He went, therefore, accompanied with a learned attendance ; and, on his arrival, after visiting several other universities, he made Padua his choice, then most flourishing for eloquence. Here he hired a handsome house, and settled a proper household. Such a distinguished figure could not fail of drawing the eyes of all the learned men in the place upon him ; and put it into his power to make the best advantage of their abilities towards perfecting the plan of his studies. He likewise, at the same time, became the delight of that part of the world, for his learning, politeness, and piety. At the same time he grew not less the darling of his own country, where every one endeavoured to heap favours on him ; particularly Fox, bishop of Winchester, made him fellow of the new-founded college of Corpus-Christi in Oxford, on the fourteenth of February, 1523. From Padua our nobleman went to Venice, where he continued for some time, and then visited some other parts of Italy.

Having spent five years abroad, he was recalled home ; but being very desirous to see the jubilee, which was celebrated this year at Rome, he took a tour to that city ; and, passing by the way of Florence, he was received honourably, and had presents made to him there as well as at other places on the road. At Rome, he was entertained with the
same

same respect; and, after he had satisfied his curiosity in visiting the court, the churches, religious houses, and rarities, he returned to England, before the expiration of 1525; and was received with great affection and honour, as well by the court as the nobility. But the world, however alluring, had no charms for his taste at present: devotion and study were his sole delight; and, in order to have a full and free enjoyment of them, he resolved to retire to his old habitation, among the Carthusians at Shene, having obtained a grant from the king of the apartment which Dr. Colet had lately built for his own use in the same exercises.

He had passed two years with great pleasure in this retirement, when king Henry VIII. began to start his scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with queen Catharine of Spain in order to a divorce. Pole, foreseeing the commotions which this incident must occasion, and that he should not escape being involved in them if he stayed in the kingdom, resolved to withdraw; and, making use of the pretence of compleating his studies, he obtained his majesty's leave to go to Paris. Here, carrying some learned persons in his train, he passed his time in that tranquility, which is so much the desire of, and is so necessary for, studious persons; till the king, prosecuting the affair of the divorce, sent to the most noted universities in Europe for their opinion on his case.

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On this occasion, Pole was sent to, and desired to concur with the king's agents. This threw him into some perplexity for a while; but, at length, he resolved to leave the negotiation wholly to those who were joined with him in the commission; and to excuse himself to the king, as unfit for employ, since the course of his studies had lain another way. But Henry was so much displeased, that, when his kinsman returned home, not long after, he was advised, by all means, to clear himself of all disloyalty, and appease his majesty's anger: and, having averted the storm for the present, by his submission, he retired to his former habitation at Shene; where he prosecuted his studies and devotions undisturbed for the space of two years.

In the mean time, Henry, perceiving the court of Rome's intentions to baffle his proceedings, carried on, under their authority, against Catharine, kindled into a resolution to shake off the yoke of that assumed authority, and to rely wholly on his own subjects. This politic step brought new troubles upon Pole: he was now universally esteemed for his learning and piety; and was besides of the royal blood. It was observed, therefore, that his consent would be of great service as an example to the rest. Accordingly, no means were left untried to win him over; and, being irresistibly pressed on every side, he yielded, at length, to the occasion; and repaired to the king, with a design to give him satisfaction: but

but his conscience checking him the moment he was about to speak, he was not able to utter a word. The extremity inspired him with courage, and, quitting the former purpose, he spoke his mind to the king; which, being such as was not pleasing nor expected, Henry, with a countenance full of anger, put his hand, sometimes to his poniard hanging at his girdle, with an intention to kill him, but was overcome with the simplicity, humility, and submission of his kinsman's address, and dismissed him in tolerable temper, without urging the point any more.

Pole, however, being apprehensive that further danger would inevitably accrue to him, if he continued in England, laid hold of the king's pacific disposition, to apply to him, by some friends, for leave to withdraw, under a pretence for further improvement in the universities abroad; which he obtained: and his majesty was so far satisfied at present, that he continued his pension for some time.

The first place Pole went to, was Avignon, in France, which then flourished in the studies of the liberal arts and sciences. The town was under the pope's jurisdiction, and our author continued there unmolested for the space of a year; but finding the air not to agree with his constitution, he left it, and went to Padua, where before he had experienced a better air, besides good company, and the love of learned men. In this beloved university he fixed his residence the second time, making excursions

excursions now and then for diversion to Venice. With regard to study, divinity had now his principal attention, yet not so as to exclude the inferior sciences. At the same time, learning and religion went hand in hand; nature had given him a strong turn to that kind of devotion which is characteristically distinguished in the Roman church by the name of piety.

There was one Mark, a monk, said to be a person of great learning, and greater piety, who then taught theology; with this master Pole was exceedingly delighted, and attended his lectures assiduously. In the same disposition, he admitted into an intimate familiarity Cosmo Sherius, bishop of Fano, a city in Umbria; in whom, though young, he found an eminent fund of knowledge in several branches of literature, joined to a singular honesty in manners and conversation, and an ardent desire of piety. At Venice also our nobleman became acquainted with the famous Gaspar Contarenus, who afterwards was elected into the college of cardinals, as likewise he did with Peter Caraffa, bishop of Theate, who, about that time, had founded a new religious order at Venice, called Theatines, but became afterwards the turbulent pope Paul IV. and an enemy to Pole.

Several other persons of the first reputation in the republic of letters, are ranked amongst his acquaintance: but, above all, there was none so familiar with him as a noble Venetian
called

called Aloisius Priuli. He was a person of singular worth and integrity, and a friendship was now begun between them which ended not but with the death of Pole. Thus the days passed very agreeably in Italy, but fresh troubles were brewing in England.

Henry had not only divorced Catharine, but married Anne Bullen, and resolved to throw off the papal yoke, and assert his right to the supremacy, with the title of Supreme Head of the Church. To this end he had procured a book to be written in defence of that title by Dr. Richard Sampson, bishop of Chichester; and, observing the high esteem in which Pole was held, both at home and abroad, he was not a little desirous to have it confirmed by his kinsman. He therefore dispatched a courier with Dr. Sampson's book and a letter, requiring his opinion upon the matter. No body was better acquainted with the king's violent temper in general than Pole; the fate of Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher particularly had reached his ears; and, seeing the method practised in order to bring him over to acknowledge the new title, he persuaded himself that the like means were designed to bring on the like conclusion; and, that the present application was a snare laid purposely to usher him to the block. He therefore contrived some excuses for deferring his answer; and, when he found no delays could prevail any longer, taking courage from
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the security of the pope's protection, he not only disapproved the king's divorce, and separation from the apostolic see, in answer for the present, but shortly after drew up his piece *Pro Unitate Ecclesiastica*, and sent it to king Henry. This confidence was a notorious proof of his zeal and attachment to the see of Rome. Besides using very rude and indecent language to bishop Simpson, he not only pressed the king earnestly to return to the obedience he owed to that see, but excited the emperor to revenge the injury done to his aunt, the divorced queen, with a great many sharp reflections.

Henry was much displeased with this conduct, and, knowing that the book could not long lie concealed in Italy, though Pole had promised not to publish it, sent for our author to come to England, that he might explain some passages of it to him : but Pole, well aware that it was made treason in England to deny his majesty's supremacy, which was the principal scope of his book, chose not to obey the call ; but desired the king, as now being freed from her who had been the occasion of all this, to take hold of the present occasion, and reintegrate himself with the pope, and accept the council now summoned ; whereby he might have the honour of being the cause of the reformation of the church in doctrine and manners ; assuring him, that otherwise he would be in great danger.

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This was the language of a superior. It was manifest from what fountain he now drew, and the king therefore resolved to keep measures with him no longer: accordingly, his pension was withdrawn; he was stripped of all his dignities in England; and an act of attainder of high-treason passed against him: but he was abundantly compensated for these losses and sufferings by the bounty of the pope and the emperor. He had been, as it is said, much against his own inclination, created a cardinal, in January preceding, by the title of S. Nereur and Achilleus; then of St. Mary, in Cosmedin; and, at length, of St. Prisca: and soon after was sent by the pope, with the character of Nuncio, both to France and Flanders; that, being near England, he might hold a correspondence with the catholics there, in order to keep them stedfast in the faith of that church.

At Paris he was received by the king very honourably, but did not stay long there; for Henry, being informed of it, sent to demand him of the French monarch; which being notified to him by that prince, he removed to Cambray, and put himself under the protection of the bishop there. Yet neither was this a place of safety for him, by reason of the war then between France and the empire, in which Henry was engaged; so that the English soldiers were continually harrassing those parts. The nuncio was therefore very desirous to leave

leave the place, and the more for this reason, that he now heard of his being proclaimed a traitor in England, and a price set upon his head.

During this perplexity, cardinal Erardas, a Marchia, bishop of Liege, inviting him thither, he immediately posted from Cambray, and was received as a brother, and most liberally entertained. Here he continued six months, waiting till all things should be amended in England, according to the desire of France and the emperor; but these expectations proving vain, our nuncio found himself still in danger of being delivered up to Henry VIII. Hereupon he left Leige, and, by the pope's command, returned through Germany to Rome, where he was very graciously received; and, not long after, attended his holiness to Nice, to assist in making a peace between France and the empire: after which, he was employed by the pontiff to these two princes, and some others, to persuade them to enter into a league against England, in order to restore it to the ancient religion, cleanse it of heresy, and relieve the devotees to the apostolic see, then in a lingering and groaning condition, a thing of greater necessity and merit than to war against the Turk.

To dispatch this embassy with quickness, and to avoid the toils of Henry VIII. our cardinal went incognito, and with a very few attendants, first to the emperor, then at Toledo, designing to proceed from thence to France.

But

But this project being counterworked by Henry, the cardinal met with a cool reception from his imperial majesty ; whereupon he returned by the same road to Avignon, where he acquainted the pope with his ill success ; and, receiving a letter from his holiness to continue in those parts, he took this opportunity of making a visit at Carpentras to his acquaintance and beloved friend cardinal Jacob Sadollet ; with whom he spent six months much to his satisfaction, and in the utmost safety, this place, as well as Avignon, being under the pope's jurisdiction ; and, being recalled hence, and sent by the pope to Verona, he found much friendship and hospitality from John Matthew Gibert, bishop of that place. At length, his holiness, considering how to reward his services, sent him legate to Viterbo, an easy employ, and near the city, where he might reside entirely safe, and out of the reach of his enemies.

In this post he still maintained his character for piety and learning, and particularly obtained the love of the people by his moderation towards protestants ; for which, however, he was charged by the bigots with favouring heresy. His eminency continued at Viterbo till 1543, when the pope, having called the council of Trent, appointed him, together with the cardinal of Paris, and cardinal John Merene, his three legates there ; but, as the council could not then assemble, by reason of the wars which arose in Germany, and other
Christian

Christian countries, Pole returned to Viterbo ; between which place and Rome he passed his time, following his studies in great repose and tranquillity, till the pontiff, resolving not to have his views in calling a council defeated, issued a second citation for holding it at the same place, and appointed Pole again, but with two different cardinals, his legates there. Accordingly he attended in that council as long as he was able ; but the bad state of the air bringing a dangerous catarrh upon him, he obtained leave to go to Padua for the benefit of advice and a better air. After a while the council also was removed to Bononia on the same account. About which time, our cardinal, having recovered his health, returned to Rome, and was received very graciously, as usual, by the pope, who made him his chief counsellor in matters relating to kings and sovereign princes, and particularly when it was concluded to make a defence in writing, cardinal Pole was the penman. Thus, for instance, when the pope's power to remove the council was contested by the emperor's ambassador, Pole drew up a vindication of that proceeding ; and, when the emperor set forth the Interim, the same cardinal was employed to answer it.

This was in 1548, and pope Paul III. dying the next year, our cardinal was twice elected to succeed him, but refused both the elections; one as being too hasty, and without deliberation ; and the other, because it was done in
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the night-time. Such an unexampled delicacy disgusted several of his friends in the conclave. They thereupon joined with the party of cardinal John Maria de Monte, bishop of Poetrina ; who, by that means, being chosen pope, took the name of Julius III. This happened on the thirtieth of March, 1550 ; and the tranquillity of Rome being soon after much disturbed by the wars in France, and on the borders of Italy, Pole retired, with the pope's leave, to a monastery of the Benedictines called Magazune, situated near the lake of Benacus, in the territory of Verona.

In this pleasant retirement he continued till the death of Edward VI. in July, 1553 : but, on the accession of queen Mary, it was determined by the court of Rome, that Pole should be sent legate into England, as the fittest instrument, on all accounts, to effect the reduction of the kingdom to the obedience of the pope. The undertaking, however, required some consideration. The act of attainder, which had passed against him under Henry VIII. had been confirmed by Edward, and consequently stood still in force, both these princes were held in great esteem among the people. Our legate therefore did not think it safe to venture his person in England till he understood the true state of things there. However, it was not long before he received full satisfaction upon all these points, and accordingly set out for England, by the way of Germany, in the month of October this year,

1553; but he had not proceeded far in the emperor's dominions, when a message came to him from that prince, to put a stop to his farther progress at present. These were soon followed by an express from queen Mary to the same purpose, who, to keep him in good humour, sent him also the two acts that had passed, for the justification of her mother's marriage, and for bringing all things back to the state they were in at her father's death, desiring him likewise to send her a list of such persons as should be made bishops.

The cardinal being satisfied, that the true cause of this delay was to prevent his arrival in England before the queen's marriage to Philip should be completed, was not a little nettled at it, and wrote a letter to her majesty, wherein he said, he knew this stop to his journey came chiefly from the emperor, who was for pursuing such particular courses now, as himself had followed in the business of the interim, being resolved to have the state settled before she meddled with religion. That he had spoke to the emperor's confessor about it, and had convinced him of the impropriety of such courses, and set him to work on his master. He also told the queen, he was afraid carnal pleasures might govern her too much, and that she might thereby fall from her simplicity in Christ, wherein she had hitherto lived: he encouraged her therefore to put on a spirit of wisdom and courage, and trust in God, who had preserved her so long. He as-

fured her, that he had wrote to mitigate the
 pope and cardinals, who, there was room
 enough to think, would resent his being stop-
 ped; which, he had told them, was done on-
 ly to wait till his attainder was taken off; and
 to make a shew of going forward, he had sent
 his household-stuff to Flanders. With regard
 to the acts, he found fault that no mention was
 made in the first of the pope's bulls, by the
 authority of which, only, it could be a lawful
 marriage; and he did not like, that in the
 other act, the worship of God, and the sacra-
 ments, were to be as they were in the end of
 her father's reign, for then they were in a state
 of schism, that the pope's interdict still lay on
 the nation, and till that were taken off, none
 could, without sin, either administer or receive
 them. He confessed he knew none of either
 house fit to propose the matter of rejecting the
 supremacy, and therefore he thought it best
 for herself to go to the parliament, having be-
 fore-hand acquainted some few, both of the
 spirituality and temporality, with her design,
 and tell the house, she was touched with the
 schism, and desired a legate to come over from
 the apostolic see, to treat about; and should
 thereupon propose the reversion of his attain-
 der. That whereas some might apprehend
 thralldom from the papacy, she might give
 them assurance she would see all things so well
 secured, that there should no danger come to
 the nation from it; and he assured them, that
 he, for his part, would take as much care of
 that,

that, as any of all the temporality could desire.

But the queen's marriage with Philip, meeting with great opposition, it was resolved that the legate should be kept at a distance. Therefore, by way of diversion, another legation was contrived for him, to mediate a peace between the empire and France. In obedience to the pope's appointment he went to Paris on this errand, the business was most agreeable to his natural disposition, and he laboured it very seriously for some time, till finding no prospect of success, he returned to his former residence in a monastery near Brussels, where he had resided before his call to France. The truth is, the real design of this second embassy was now compleated, in the celebration of queen Mary's nuptials with Philip, which was no sooner finished, than her majesty sent the lords Paget and Hastings to conduct her cousin into England. Accordingly, he set out in September 1554, but being detained by contrary winds at Calais till November, he did not cross the water till the twenty-first of that month; when, arriving at Dover, he went thence by land to Gravesend, where, being met by the bishop of Ely, and the earl of Salisbury, who, presenting him with the repeal of the act of his attainder, that had passed the day before, he went on board a yatcht, which carrying the cross, the ensign of his legation, at her head, conveyed him to Whitehall, where he was received with the utmost

veneration by their majesties ; and after all possible honour and respect paid to him there, he was conducted to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, the destined place of his residence, which had been sumptuously fitted up by the queen for the purpose.

On the twenty-seventh he went to the parliament, and made a long and grave speech, inviting them to a reconciliation with the apostolic see, from whence, he said, he was sent by the common pastor of Christendom to produce them, who had long strayed from the inclosure of the church. On the twenty-ninth, the speaker reported to the commons the substance of this speech ; and a message coming from the lords for a conference, in order to prepare a supplication to be reconciled to the see of Rome, it was consented to, and the petition being agreed on, was reported and approved by both houses ; so that being presented by them on their knees to the king and queen, these made their intercession with the cardinal, who thereupon delivered himself, in a long speech, at the end of which he granted them absolution. This done, all went to the royal chapel, where *Te Deum* was sung on the occasion. Thus the pope's authority being now restored, the cardinal, two days afterwards, made his public entry into London, with all the solemnities of a legate, and presently set about the business of reforming the church, of what they called heresy. How much soever he had formerly been suspected to favour
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the reformation; yet he seemed now to be much altered, knowing the court of Rome kept a jealous eye upon him in this respect. He therefore expressed great detestation of them, nor did he converse much with any that had been of that party. He came over into England, much changed from that freedom of conversation he had formerly practised. He was in reserve to all, spoke little, and put on an Italian temper, as well as behaviour, making Priuli and Ormaneto, two Italians whom he brought with him, his only confidants.

In the mean time, the queen dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to make obedience, in the name of the whole kingdom to the pope; who had already proclaimed a jubilee on that occasion. But these messengers had scarce set foot on Italian ground, when they were informed of the death of Julius, and the election of Marcellus his successor; and this pontiff dying soon after, the queen, upon the first news of it, recommended her kinsman to the popedom, as every way the fittest person for it; and dispatches were accordingly sent to Rome for the purpose, but they came too late; Peter Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV. being elected before their arrival. This pope, who had never liked our cardinal, was better pleased with the bishop of Winchester, whose temper exactly tallied with his own. In this disposition he favoured Gardiner's views upon the see of Canterbury; nor was Pole's no-

mination to that dignity confirmed by his holiness, till after the death of his rival. The queen however, confiding in Pole for the management and regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, granted him a licence to hold a synod on the second of November 1554. In this convention, the legate proposed the next year a book he had prepared, containing such regulations as he judged might be the best means of extirpating heresy; these were passed in the form of twelve decrees, and they are so many proofs of his good temper, which disposed him not to set the clergy upon prosecuting the heretics, but rather to reform themselves, and seek to reclaim others by a good example.

However, he was prevailed upon to act in many instances afterwards, very unsuitably to the temper of these decrees, as is confessed by Burnet, who moreover plainly suggests his belief of the report, that Cranmer's execution was of Pole's procuring; whom he succeeded in the archbishopric of Canterbury, the very next day after that prelate's death. In November, the same year, 1556, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, and soon after of Cambridge; and in the beginning of the year following, he visited both, by his commissaries, reforming them in the sense of those times, but not without committing some uncommonly inhuman prosecutions.

We have already observed, how unacceptable he was to Paul IV. who now sat in the
papal

papal chair, and the war which England was drawn into with France this year, by king Philip, furnished the haughty pontiff with a pretence for gratifying his ill-will to the legate. He had passionately espoused the quarrel of the French monarch, and being inflamed to see England siding against his friend, he resolved to revenge it on Pole. In this point, having declared openly, that it might now be seen how little the cardinal regarded the apostolic see, when he suffered the queen to assist their enemies against their friends. The first made a decree in May, for the general revocation of all legates and nuncios in the king of Spain's dominions, cardinal Pole being mentioned among the rest; by the representation of Sir Edward Carne, then the English ambassador at Rome. Yet, upon the fatal blow given to the French at St. Quintin, and the ill success of his own forces in Italy, his wrath burst out with fresh fury, he became utterly implacable, accused Pole as a suspected heretic, summoned him to Rome to answer the charge; and, depriving him of the legatine powers, conferred them on Peyto, a Franciscan fryar; whom he had sent for to Rome, and made a cardinal for the purpose, designing him also to the see of Salisbury. This appointment was made in September, and the new legate was actually on the road for England, when the bulls came to queen Mary; who, having been informed of their contents by her ambassador, laid them up without opening

pening them, or acquainting her cousin with the matter, in whose behalf she wrote to the pope, and assuming some of her father's spirit, she wrote to Peyto, forbidding him to proceed on his journey, and charging him on his peril not to set foot on English ground.

But notwithstanding all her caution to conceal the matter from the cardinal, it was not possible to keep it long a secret, and he no sooner became acquainted with the holy father's pleasure, than out of that implicit veneration, which he constantly and unalterably preserved for the apostolic see, he voluntarily laid down the ensigns of his legatine power, and forbore the exercise of it; dispatching his trusty minister Ormaneto to Rome, with letters, wherein he cleared himself in such submissive terms, as it is said even mollified and melted the obdurate heart of Paul. The truth is, the pontiff was brought into a better temper by some late events, which turned his regard from the French toward the Spaniards, and the storm against Pole blew over entirely, by a peace that was concluded this year, between his holiness and Philip; in one of the secret articles of which, it was stipulated, that our cardinal should be restored to his legatine powers. But he did not live to enjoy the restoration a full twelvemonth, being seized with a double quartan ague, which carried him off the stage of life, early in the morning of the eighteenth of November 1558.

His

His death is said to have been hastened by that of his royal mistress and kinswoman, queen Mary; which, as if one star governed both their nativities, happened about sixteen hours before. His body being put into a leaden coffin, laid forty days in great state, at Lambeth; after which, it was conveyed thence with as great funeral pomp to Canterbury, and interred with solemnity on the north side of Thomas a'Becket's chapel, in that cathedral. Over his grave there was erected a tomb, on which were inscribed only these three words, as sufficient to his fame, *Depositu[m] Cardinalis Poli.*

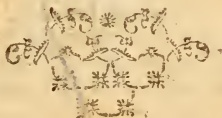
As to his character, in his person he was of a middle stature and of a compact, though slender habit; his complexion was fair, agreeably tinged with red, and his beard yellow in his youth. He had a large open countenance, enlivened with a chearful and pleasant eye, a true index of the temper, which was sweet and placid, of the inhabitant within. Though his constitution was not strong, yet, in general, he enjoyed a good state of health; which, however, was sometimes disordered, by a catarrh that fell upon one of his arms, and brought an inflammation into both eyes. He used a spare diet, eating only on plain dishes; though he always kept a table suitable to his station and quality, which even rose to kingly magnificence, when there was occasion. Yet he was a good œconomist, and his expences were constantly proportioned, in general,

ral, to his revenues. In his dress, he called for little help; and often rose out of bed and dressed himself without any attendants. In regard to the qualities of his mind and manners, he was a learned, eloquent, modest, humble, and good-natured man; of exemplary piety and charity, as well as a generosity becoming his birth. Though, by nature, he was more inclined to study and contemplation than an active life; yet he was prudent and dextrous in business: so that he would have been a finished character, had not his superstitious devotion to the see of Rome carried him, against his nature, to commit several cruelties in prosecuting the Protestants.

During his last illness, he made his will; wherein he appointed his best beloved friend, Aloysi Priuli, his sole executor and testamentary heir. But that Italian was of a more noble temper than to enrich himself by his friend's wealth, whom he survived only twenty months; which time was wholly spent in collecting the cardinal's effects, that lay dispersed in divers countries; and, having discharged all the legacies, he gave away the remainder in such a manner as he knew to be most agreeable to the cardinal's mind; reserving to himself only the Breviary and Diary, particularly endeared to him by his friend's frequent use of them.

Indeed, the cardinal was not a man to raise a fortune; being, by the greatness of his birth,

birth, and his excellent virtues, carried far above such mean designs. So that the archbishopric was little advantaged by him, only in a grant which he obtained from queen Mary, of the patronage of nineteen parsonages for it. All that he did besides, was endowing it with some houses, built by himself, and a ground-rent on the east side of Lambeth. However, it is said that he designed, if he had lived, to have built a stately archbishop's palace at Canterbury; to which church he gave two silver candle-sticks gilt very heavy; a silver incense-pot, in the form of a ship, partly gilt; a silver mitre, adorned with jewels; a silver pastoral-staff and cross, partly gilt; two pontifical rings, set with jewels of great value; and a very large silver cistern for the holy-water.



THE LIFE OF

ROBERT DUDLEY.

ROBERT DUDLEY was the fifth son of John duke of Northumberland, by Jane, the daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Guilford. Under king Edward VI. he came to court, and was made one of his majesty's privy-chamber. Upon the king's death, he engaged with his father, in defence of the lady Jane Grey, and attended upon him in his expedition into Norfolk; but upon his arrest at Cambridge fled to the queen's camp, from whence he was brought up prisoner to London, and confined in the Tower, on the twenty-sixth of July 1553, and on the fifteenth of January following, was arraigned of high treason at the Guild-hall of London, confessed the indictment, and was adjudged by the earl of Suffex to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. But the lords interceded for him with the queen, who gave way to their entreaty, restored him and his brethren in blood, except only the lord Guilford; received him into favour, and made him master of the English ordnance at the siege of St. Quintin. As soon as queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, she advanced him to the highest honours.

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She made him master of the horse in the first year of her reign, and chose him, to the admiration of all men, into the order of the garter.

Encouraged by these favours, he gave into the opinion, that, could he get rid of his wife, he need not despair of soon rendering himself agreeable to her majesty. The lady was dispatched into the country, to the house of one of his dependants, where, it is said, he first attempted to have taken her off by poison; but, failing in this design, he caused her to be thrown down from the top of a stair-case, and murdered by the fall. She was at first obscurely buried, but that having given occasion to censure, he ordered her body to be taken up, and she was interred again in the university-church of Oxford, with all imaginable pomp and solemnity.

His lordship, in the mean time, met with a more favourable reception than ever from the queen; the management of all affairs was principally entrusted to him, and though she did not openly countenance his pretensions of marriage, yet she seemed not at all displeased with the overture. But envy and emulation are the sure attendants upon greatness, and Dudley, by being thus distinguished above the rest in her majesty's favour, drew upon himself the disinclination of the courtiers: and, it is possible that about this time, the history of Reynard the Fox, now in the hands of every child as a plaything, was written, as a satire against his lordship.

But

But among all Leicester's enemies, secretary Cecil was become the most dangerous; who, to prevent his growing absolute, suggested to her majesty the propriety of a match between his lordship and the queen of Scots, then about to form a foreign alliance, which must be prejudicial to England. The crown of Scotland in possession, and the right of inheritance to the crown of England, was an alluring bait to Dudley's ambition; and the secretary knew, that should he be over-earnest in the pursuit of the match proposed, he would be infallibly lost in the good graces of the queen; and he was under no apprehension, from the known temper of the queen of Scots, that a person of his lordship's extraction could ever render himself acceptable to her. Elizabeth, whatever was her motive, gave ear to the secretary's proposal, and sent immediate instructions to Randolph, her ambassador in Scotland, to open the matter to Mary; but that queen resolved to reject the offer, though she feared to come to an open rupture with Elizabeth. She dispatched Sir James Melvil to London, with instructions full of friendliness and regard. But when Elizabeth enquired if the queen of Scots had sent any answer to the proposition of marriage she had made her, the ambassador gave an evasive answer. Her majesty then entered upon the commendation of lord Robert Dudley, declared she would marry him herself, if she had not been determined

determined to end her days in virginity ; that this match would remove all future animosity and dissatisfaction from between the two crowns : and farther, to convince the queen, his mistress of the regard she bore him, she purposed to advance him to the highest honours before his departure for Scotland. On the twenty-sixth of September he was accordingly created baron of Denbigh, and the day following earl of Leicester. The creation was performed with great solemnity, the queen herself assisted at the ceremony. And not long after, upon the resignation of Sir J. Mason, he was made chancellor of the university of Oxford.

In the mean time, his lordship seemed rather to decline the match, than desire it; he excused himself to the Scottish ambassador, from having ever entertained so proud a pretence, declared his sense of his own unworthiness, and begged her majesty would not be offended, nor impute a matter to him, which the malice of his enemies had devised for his destruction: within a few days after, Sir James Melvil obtained his dispatch, with a more ample declaration of the queen's mind, upon the subject of his embassy.

In the mean time the earl of Leicester wrote letters to the earl of Murray, to excuse him to the queen of Scots. And that he might the more recommend himself to her majesty's favour, he accused Sir Nicholas Bacon to Elizabeth, that he had intermeddled in the
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affair of the succession, and assisted in the publication of a book against the Queen of Scots' title. The Queen was highly offended, the author, Hales, was taken up and imprisoned, and Sir Nicholas Bacon would have infallibly lost his office, if Leicester could have persuaded Sir Anthony Brown to have accepted it.

In November following, the earl of Bedford and Mr. Randolph, the earl of Murray and secretary Lidington, commissioners on both sides, met near Berwick, to treat of the marriage, but with slenderer offers, and less effectual dealing, than was expected. The earl of Leicester's behaviour, and the prudence and discretion, which appeared in the letters he had written to the earl of Murray, had made an impression upon the queen of Scots, and she seemed so far to approve of the match, that queen Elizabeth began to be afraid it might take effect. Under these apprehensions, and at the solicitation of secretary Cecil, she gave leave to my lord Darnley to take a journey into Scotland, in hope, that his presence might be more prevalent than Leicester's absence. And the earl of Leicester, perceiving the queen's inclination, wrote private letters to the earl of Bedford, to desist from prosecuting it farther. The queen of Scots was soon after solemnly married to lord Darnley, in the royal chapel of Holyrood-house, and the next day he was publickly proclaimed king, and associated

associated with her majesty in the government.

Hereupon application was again made to queen Elizabeth to think seriously of a husband, by this means to weaken the party of the queen of Scots in England, and to strengthen the interest of the protestant religion. The emperor Maximilian proposed his brother, with very honourable conditions. The earl of Suffolk favoured the match ; but lord Leicester, presuming upon his power with the queen, took pains to prevent it. This opposition was ill digested by the earl of Suffolk, who was of an high spirit, and nobly descended. The honesty of his nature led him to a professed enmity, which divided the whole court ; and whenever the two earls went abroad, they were attended with a retinue of armed followers ; infomuch, that the queen was obliged to interpose her authority to make up the breach : but Suffolk continued his aversion till his death ; and, in his last sickness, is said to have addressed his friends to this purpose : “ I am now passing into another world, and must leave you to your fortunes, and to the queen’s grace and goodness ; but beware of the gypsie (meaning Leicester) for he will be too hard for you all ; you know not the beast so well as I do.”

We have already observed, that the earl of Leicester was made chancellor of the university of Oxford, towards the end of the last year.

ear. At his entrance upon this office, he found the university in a most deplorable condition: their discipline had long been neglected, and their learning most miserably impoverished. The whole university could furnish only three preachers; and in the absence of two of them, the audience was frequently put off with very lame performances. To give the reader an instance: The congregation being one Sunday destitute of a preacher, Taverner of Woodeaton, the sheriff of the county, enters St. Mary's, with his sword by his side, and his gold chain about his neck, mounts the pulpit, and harangues the scholars in the following strain: "Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's in the stony stage, where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation." This Taverner, it seems, had been brought up in the cardinal's college, was an inceptor in arts, and in deacon's orders, and a person at that time in esteem for his learning in the university; so that from this specimen it may appear to how low a character their studies were reduced.

The earl of Leicester laboured by all possible means to introduce an improvement in literature, and give a new turn to the face of affairs in the university. By his letters he recommended to them the practice of religion and learning, and pressed them to a more
close

close observance of their duty. This application was not without its effect; provision was immediately made for reforming abuses in graces and dispensations, lectures and public exercises were enforced by statute, and the habits brought under regulation; the earl continuing to patronize and regulate the university upon every occasion.

In the beginning of the year 1566, monsieur Ramboulet was dispatched into England to queen Elizabeth, by Charles IX. king of France, with the order of St. Michael, to be conferred on two English noblemen, as should be most agreeable to her majesty. The queen made choice of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Leicester, the one distinguished by his high birth, and the other by her majesty's favour. And on the twenty-fourth of January they were invested in the royal chapel at Whitehall, with very great solemnity; no Englishman having ever been admitted before into this order, except king Henry VIII. king Edward VI. and Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.

This summer the queen took a progress into the country, and upon her return made a visit to Oxford. She was attended by the earl of Leicester, who informed the university of her design, desired they would consult their own credit upon this occasion, and make an honourable provision for her majesty's reception. On the twenty-ninth of August his lordship, with some others of the nobility, were

were dispatched before by her majesty, to give notice, that she would be there within two days. The vice-chancellor and the heads of houses came out to meet them on horseback, and entertained them with Latin orations addressed to their chancellor and secretary Cecil. And in the afternoon the lords returned to Woodstock, where the court lay, and expressed their satisfaction in the entertainment.

On the thirty-first of August in the forenoon, the earls of Leicester and Huntingdon were present at Dr. Humphreys's lectures in the schools, who read as queen's professor in divinity, and then they attended at the public disputations. Towards evening, as her majesty approached, she was met at Wolvercote, where the jurisdiction of the university ends, by the chancellor the earl of Leicester, by four doctors, and the vice-chancellor, in their scarlet robes and hoods; and by eight masters of arts, who were heads of colleges or halls. The chancellor then delivered the staves of the three superior beadles into her majesty's hands, and having received them again from her, and likewise restored them to their respective officers, the canon of Christ-church made an elegant speech to her majesty upon the occasion. She then held out her hand to the orator and the doctors, and as Dr. Humphreys drew near to kiss it, "Mr. doctor," says the queen, smiling, "that loose gown becomes you mighty well, I wonder your notions should

should be so narrow." This Humphreys, it seems, was at the head of the puritan party, and had opposed the ecclesiastical habits with great warmth of zeal.

As she entered the town, the streets were lined with scholars from Bocardo to Quater-vois, who, as her majesty passed along, fell down upon their knees, and with one voice cried out, "Long live the queen!" At Quater-vois the Greek professor addressed her majesty in a Greek oration, and the queen answered him in the same language, and commended his performance. From hence she was conveyed with the like pomp to Christ-church, where she was received by the public orator; who, in the name of the university, congratulated her majesty's arrival among them.

For seven days together the queen was magnificently entertained by the university, and expressed an extreme delight in the lectures, disputations, public exercises, and shews; which she constantly heard and saw. On the sixth day she declared her satisfaction in a Latin speech, and assured them of her favour and protection. The day after she took her leave, and was conducted by the heads as far as Shotiver-hill, when the earl of Leicester gave her notice, that they had accompanied her to the limits of their jurisdiction. Mr. Roger Marbeck then made an oration to her majesty, and having laid open the difficulties under which learning had formerly laboured, he applied himself to the encouragements it had lately

lately received, and the prospect of its arising to the height of splendor under her majesty's most gracious administration. The queen heard him with pleasure, returned a very favourable answer; and casting her eyes back upon Oxford, with all possible marks of tenderness and affection, she bade him farewell. Here it may not be amiss to observe, that the queen's countenance, and the earl of Leicester's care, had such an effect upon the diligence of this learned body, that, within a few years after, it produced more shining instances of real worth, than had ever before been sent abroad, at the same time, in any age whatsoever.

Upon the queen's return to London, the parliament met on the first of November, fell into warm debates, and seemed resolved to insist upon her majesty's immediate marriage, or the declaration of a successor. The earl of Leicester had earnestly solicited in behalf of the queen of Scots; but, not meeting with the success he desired, he said that an husband ought to be imposed on the queen, or a successor appointed by parliament against her inclination. Wherein he was openly joined by the earl of Pembroke, and more privately by the duke of Norfolk. But the queen was highly incensed at this behaviour, and, for some time, they were all excluded the presence-chamber, and prohibited access to her person: however it was not long before they submitted, and obtained her majesty's pardon.

During

During this disgrace, lord Leicester is charged with having entered into a traiterous correspondence with the Irish, who had just before broken out into an open rebellion. His letters are said to have been found upon a person of distinction, who was killed in battle; but, before the discovery could be made, he was reconciled to the queen, and placed above the reach of any private accusation.

The next year, count Stolberg was dispatched into England, by the emperor, to treat again of a marriage with the archduke Charles. The earl of Suffex had not long before been sent to his imperial majesty upon this subject, and used his utmost efforts that her majesty might be married to a foreign prince: but Leicester took care to supplant him in his designs, and privately engaged the lord North, who attended him in his journey, to be a spy upon his actions, and to break the measures he should enter into, by contrary insinuations. In the mean time, he discouraged her majesty from the attempt, by laying before her the inconveniences that would necessarily arise from a foreign match: and the archduke not long after married the daughter of the duke of Bavaria.

About this time, the queen of Scots came into England; and Leicester appears to have been well-affected to her interest. He stands charged with having entered into a conspiracy against secretary Cecil, because he suspected him to favour the succession of the house of Suffolk,

Suffolk, to Mary's disadvantage: and, when the earl of Murray suggested the marriage with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Leicester embraced the proposal with eagerness. He took upon him to propound the matter to the duke; extenuated the crimes she was accused of; and wrote letters to Mary in commendation of Norfolk; in which he earnestly persuaded her to approve of the marriage: and, farther, he drew up certain articles, which he sent to her by the bishop of Ross, promising, upon her acceptance of the proposed conditions, to procure for her the crown of Scotland in present possession, and the crown of England in reversion.

Whilst affairs were in this situation, and the earl of Leicester was waiting for a convenient opportunity of opening the design to his mistress, the earl of Murray sent secret advice to her majesty of the whole transaction, and charged the duke of Norfolk with having engaged in private practices to get the present possession of the two crowns by means of this marriage. This report, though very foreign to the duke's inclinations, was supported by circumstantial evidence, and raised the queen's jealousy, to a high degree, against the duke and the lords that were concerned with him: which, when Norfolk understood, he would have persuaded the earl to impart the scheme to her majesty without delay; but his lordship put it off from time to time, till,
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at length falling sick at Titchfield, or, at least, pretending sickness; being there visited by the queen, he declared the whole matter to her, begging forgiveness with sighs and tears: and, not long after, the duke and the lords being taken into custody, the earl of Leicester was examined before the queen and council; where he gave such an account of his proceedings, and behaved in such a manner, that he easily obtained her majesty's pardon.

The year after this there broke out an open quarrel between the earl of Leicester and the archbishop of Canterbury. A prebendary of value in the church of York was lately fallen void, and the advowson of it had been procured by one Mr. Hammond, a gentleman of a considerable estate in the county, for his son, who was yet a child. This coming to the ears of the bishop of London, who was now elect of York, he gave notice of it to the archbishop, and pressed him not to grant his dispensation to any boy whatsoever. In the mean time, the earl of Leicester had made application to his grace to bestow this prebendary upon one Brookes, a creature of his own. The archbishop shewed some unwillingness to yield, without the consent of the bishop of London. But Brookes answered, that the earl of Leicester desired only his grace's countenance and recommendation to the queen, and that he was already favoured by the bishop of London. Upon which the archbishop signed his hand. But now, when it was expected

that Leicester should have performed his promise, and dispatched this business with the queen, his mind was changed; and Mr. Hammond had found means, as it is supposed, by a present, to gain him over. He wrote letters to the archbishop, earnestly entreating him to grant a dispensation to Mr. Hammond's boy, if he should think it meet: but the archbishop refused to comply. Leicester was provoked at the refusal, and gave his grace a deal of trouble. He procured an order of council, to enquire, whether he had never granted dispensations to children before: but the archbishop wrote letters to the secretary in his own vindication; complained of the unreasonable demands of certain noblemen; and pointed at the earl of Leicester, whom he wished to have God always before his eyes. "However," says he, "some noblemen will be men."

The earl of Leicester indeed stands charged with having had a gainful share in the disposal of all offices of profit. Of his rewards for promoting to bishoprics, take the following story from Sir John Harington. "Of the bishops," says he, "that lived in the first twenty years of the queen's reign, when I was at school, or at the university, I could hear little; yet, at my first coming to the court, I heard this pretty tale; That a bishop of Winchester one day, in pleasant talk, comparing his revenue with the archbishop's of Canterbury, should say, 'Your grace's will shew

shew better in the rack, but mine will be found more in the manger.' Upon which, a courtier of good place said, 'It might be so in diebus illis; but,' saith he, 'the rack stands so high in sight, that it is fit to keep it full; but that may be, since that time, some have, with a provideatur, swept some provender out of the manger.' And, because this metaphor comes from the stable, I suspect it was meant by the master of the horse."

The next year, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a zealous antagonist to secretary Cecil, in favour of our earl, departed this life. Being at Leicester's house, as he was at supper, he was seized, in a most violent manner, by an imposthumation in his lungs, and died in a few days, but not without suspicion of poison. 'It is said, that, being lately reconciled to the secretary, the earl was apprehensive he might make a discovery of his secret practices, and for this reason took care to dispatch him. And, farther, he bore him a secret grudge for a former message sent over to queen Elizabeth, whilst her ambassador in France, that he had heard it reported at the duke of Montmorency's table, that her majesty was about to marry her horsekeeper.

The day before his death, he is said to have declared the cause of his distemper to be a poisoned sallad; and to have broke out into bitter invectives against the earl of Leicester's cruelty. The earl, however, made a mighty shew of lamentation over him; and, in a let-

ter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, he thus expresses himself upon the occasion, “ We have lost, on Monday, our good friend Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who died in my house, being there taken suddenly in great extremity on Tuesday before. His lungs were perished, but a sudden cold he had taken was the cause of his speedy death. God hath his soul, and we, his friends, great loss of his body.”

About this time, a match was proposed between queen Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou; and the earl of Leicester appears to have laid aside his pretensions to the queen upon this occasion, and to have solicited the marriage with zeal. But the duke insisting upon a toleration in the exercise of his own religion, the queen absolutely refused to comply.

The designs of Ridolpho, the Italian merchant, and the conspiracy of the duke of Norfolk, being now discovered, to prevent any farther attempt in favour of the queen of Scots, a law was made, prohibiting, under a severe penalty, the declaring any person whatsoever to be heir or successor of the queen, except it were the natural issue of her body. This expression, as it was unaccustomed in statutes of this nature, and the term Natural was usually applied by the lawyers to such children as were born out of wedlock, gave great occasion to censure; and loud clamours were raised against Leicester, as though, by inserting this clause in the statute; he had designed to involve the
realm

realm in new disputes about the succession : for it was urged, that no possible reason could be imagined, why the usual form of Lawful Issue should be changed into Natural Issue, unless with a view to reflect upon the honour of her majesty, and to obtrude hereafter upon the English some bastard son of his own as the Natural Issue of the queen.

This year, at the solemnization of the marriage between Henry, king of Navarre, and the lady Margaret, the French king's sister, the bloody massacre of the Protestants was wrought at Paris on the eve of St. Bartholomew. If Mr. Camden is not mistaken, the earl of Leicester and the lord Burleigh were invited to the nuptials under a pretext of honour, but were designed to have been cut off in case they had accepted of the invitation. This tragedy was lamented by my lord of Leicester, in another letter he wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham, with an uncommon strain of piety and concern.

In July, 1575, the queen made the earl of Leicester a visit at his castle of Kenilworth, which had been granted to his lordship and his heirs, by the queen's letters patents, ever since the fifth year of her reign ; and his expence in enlarging and adorning it amounted to no less than sixty thousand pounds. He entertained the queen and her court with all imaginable magnificence.

At her first entrance, a floating island was discerned upon the pool, glittering with
G 3. torches ;

torches; on which sat the lady of the lake, attended by two nymphs, who addressed her majesty in verse with an historical account of the antiquity and owners of the castle; and the speech was closed with the sound of cornets, and other instruments of loud music. Within the base-court was erected a stately bridge, twenty foot wide, and seventy foot long, over which the queen was to pass; and on each side stood columns, with presents upon them to her majesty from the gods. Silvanus offered a cage of wild-fowl, and Pomona divers sorts of fruits; Ceres gave corn, and Bacchus wine; Neptune presented sea-fish, Mars the habiliments of war, and Phœbus all kinds of musical instruments.

During her stay, variety of sports and shews were daily exhibited. In the chase was a savage man with satires; there were bear-baitings, fire-works, Italian tumblers, and a country brideale, running at the quiten, and morrice-dancing. And, that no sort of diversion might be omitted, the Coventry men came, and acted the ancient play, so long since used in their city, called Hocks-Tuesday, representing the destruction of the Danes in the reign of king Ethelred; which proved so agreeable to her majesty, that she ordered them a brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to defray the charges of the feast. There were, besides, on the pool, a triton riding on a mermaid eighteen foot long, and Arion upon a dolphin.

An estimate may be formed of the expence from the quantity of ordinary beer that was drank upon this occasion, which amounted to three hundred and twenty hogheads.

Towards the close of this year, Walter D'Evereux, earl of Essex, was, by lord Leicester's management, commanded to resign his authority in Ireland; and returned into England, after having sustained a considerable loss in his private fortunes. But expressing his resentment with too much eagerness against Leicester, to whose under-hand dealings he imputed the whole cause of his misfortunes, he was again sent back into Ireland by his procurement, with the unprofitable title of earl-marshal of the country. And here he continued not long before he died of a bloody-flux in the midst of incredible torments.

The death of this nobleman carried with it a suspicion of poison, and was charged upon the earl of Leicester. Two of his own servants, are reported to have been confederates in the murder: and it is said, that a pious lady, whom the earl much valued, was accidentally poisoned at the same time. It is farther alleged, that his lordship's page, who was accustomed to taste of his drink before he gave it him, very hardly escaped with life, and not without the loss of his hair, though he drank but a small quantity; and that the earl, in compassion to the boy, called for a cup of drink a little before his death, and drank to

him in a friendly manner, saying, “ I drink to thee, my Robin ; but ben’t afraid, ’tis a better cup of drink than that thou tookest to taste when we both were poisoned.”

This report was, however, contradicted by Sir Henry Sidney, the lord-deputy of Ireland ; yet the suspicion was encreased by lord Leicester’s soon after marrying the widow to the earl of Essex, and putting away his former wife, widow to the lord Sheffield, and daughter to William lord Howard of Effingham : for that she was his wife, seems evident from the depositions made in the Star-chamber in the beginning of king James’s reign, in favour of the legitimacy of Sir Lobert Dudley, the earl of Leicester’s son by the said lady.

But all engagements gave way to his passion for lady Essex ; of whom he became so enamoured, that he offered his countess no less than seven hundred pounds a year in the queen’s garden at Greenwich to disown her marriage : and there is cause to believe, that, finding her obstinately resolved not to comply with his demand, he attempted to take her off by poison. “ For ’tis certain,” says Sir William Dugdale, “ that she had some ill potions given her ; so that, with the loss of her hair and nails, she had hardly escaped death.” After which, to secure her life from any future practices, she contracted marriage with Sir Edward Stafford, a person of character and reputation, and her majesty’s ambassador into France.

The

The duke of Anjou was now eagerly pressing for the match which had been proposed between him and queen Elizabeth ever since he was duke of Alençon: and, at length, came over Monsieur Simier, attended by a large train of French nobility. He waited upon the queen at Richmond, and was entertained by her majesty with such marks of regard, that the earl of Leicester began to be afraid the marriage might take effect. He had some time before engaged Astley, one of the queen's bed-chamber, to search out her disposition towards him, and had met with an unfavourable answer. For, when he was covertly recommended to her majesty for an husband, she reply'd in a passion, "Do you think that, in chusing a husband, I should be so regardless of my character, or unmindful of my royal dignity, as to prefer my servant, whom myself have raised, to the greatest princes of Christendom?" Perchance he perceived, that, should he interpose in the affair of the French match, his opposition would be construed to proceed from interested motives, and might be a means to promote, rather than prevent it. He therefore chose to counterfeit sickness, and, under pretence of taking physick, he for some time became a voluntary prisoner.

But, as he was nearly concerned to break off this alliance, he was all the while very busy during his retirement, in contriving some effectual means to put a stop to it. He cast his

eyes upon his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, the most accomplished young gentleman that England ever bred, and engaged him to draw up an address to her majesty, wherein he laid before her a just representation of the ill consequences attending on the marriage, and pressed her to decline it ; and the queen was pleased with his remonstrance.

But Mr. Camden gives a different account of lord Leicester's confinement. He says, that Simier, apprehending the queen's affection for his lordship to be the greatest bar to his master's pretensions, endeavoured to throw him out of favour, by revealing to her majesty his marriage with lady Essex. The queen broke out into intemperate language, and in a passion commanded him not to stir from the castle of Greenwich, designing to have committed him to the Tower of London, if the earl of Essex had not dissuaded her from it. It is said, the earl of Leicester resented this usage, and, in return, suborned a ruffian to cut off Simier : and it is certain, that, about this time, the queen ordered, by a public proclamation, that no affront should be offered to that embassador, or any of his attendants, under a severe penalty. However, as he was one day waiting upon her majesty in her barge, a gun was discharged from a neighbouring boat, and one of the queen's barge-men wounded through both his arms. It was straight suggested, this was some plot to dispatch Simier :

Simier : but the matter proving wholly accidental, the man, who had immediately been apprehended, was set at liberty.

Some time after, the duke of Anjou came over in person into England. As he was one day entertaining her majesty with amorous discourse, she drew a ring from off her finger, and placed it upon his, on certain private conditions, which had been agreed between them. The company present mistook it for a contract of marriage ; and the earl of Leicester, and the rest of his faction, who had spared no pains to render the design abortive, cried, The queen, the realm, and religion, were undone, The ladies of honour, who were all in his interest, broke out into bitter lamentations, and so terrified the queen, that, early the next morning, she sent for the duke of Anjou, and, after some private conversation with him, dismissed him her court, after having staid in England three months. To do him honour, the queen attended him as far as Canterbury, and ordered the earl of Leicester, and some others of her nobility to wait upon him to Antwerp.

It was this year that the estates in the Netherlands, being greatly distressed, made application to queen Elizabeth, and desired her majesty to accept of the government of the United provinces, and take them into her protection. The queen heard their deputies with favour ; however, she refused the sovereignty, and only entered into a treaty, by

which she obliged herself to furnish them with a large supply of men and money, which now she sent to them under the conduct of her general the earl of Leicester.

On the eighth of December he went on board, attended by several persons of distinction. His fleet consisted of fifty sail of ships and transports; and, on the tenth, he arrived at Flushing, where, with his whole train, he was magnificently entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, governor of the town for her majesty, and other noblemen: and, in his progress from thence to Delph, his lordship was treated with such magnificence as is scarce to be paralleled: particularly, on the twenty-third of December; his lordship taking boat from Dort to Rotterdam, was drawn along a narrow and pleasant river, by men or horses, in a very swift and easy manner. Towards night he drew near the town, and was met upon the water by three pleasure-boats, with twelve sailors in each of them richly dressed, and great store of rockets and fireworks. They had all of them cressets at the stern, which were heightened as the night came on, and, by the reflection of the water, made a delightful shew. On the banks stood ranks of soldiers, with a torch or cresset placed between every four of them. And thus he was brought by water to his lodging, the drums and trumpets playing, and the soldiers discharging large vollies of musket-shot as he passed by. The states attended upon him at supper.

supper. And here the inhabitants were so overjoyed at the arrival of the English succours, that they entertained the whole army at their own private expence; whilst every citizen strove to go beyond his neighbour in all the offices of friendliness and civility which could be shewed to his welcome guest. It is said that the famed statue of Erasmus was erected in the market-place upon this occasion; where he is represented standing in a pulpit, as though he were preaching, and holding his Paraphrase upon the Four Gospels in his hand, with this inscription underneath, ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS.

From hence the earl of Leicester made haste towards Delph, attended by the states and a magnificent train. He entered the town late, but was lighted along the river by cressets and fireworks. He was received at the port by a file of musketeers, who waited upon him to his lodging, which was the house where the prince of Orange was slain, and congratulated his arrival by the customary discharge of their several pieces. Over the gate were written, in Latin, verses much to the honour of his lordship and the English nation.

On the twenty-fifth of December, his lordship was nobly feasted by the states; and the next day he returned the compliment. Besides the states and count Maurice, the princess of Des, with several ladies and gentlewomen, graced the entertainment. Whilst they were at table, they were diverted with a consort of Dutch

Dutch music, orations in Dutch and Latin, and all possible expressions of benevolence and regard. On the twenty-seventh, his lordship removed from thence to Donhage, and there he determined to keep his court.

He made his entry in the evening by the light of torches and fireworks, accompanied by a noble train of Englishmen, with an hundred and fifty of his guard, the states of Rotterdam and Delph, and was met upon the water by the states of Donhage, and received in triumph. Several magnificent shews were exhibited, as he entered, and addresses paid to him. Fishermen were first placed in the harbour, representing Peter, James, and John, and our Saviour walking by them on the water, and commanding them to cast in their nets a second time, according to the Gospel of St. Matthew ; and, as they drew them out laden with fishes, they made a shew of presentment to the earl of Leicester, who returned his thanks as he passed by. The next representation was of the poetical gods. Mars and Bellona sate upon the river, and made a congratulatory speech to his lordship upon his arrival.

At his landing he was met by a troop of horse, dressed in fantastic habits, who ran many courses before him, and, as the streets grew narrow, marched off, As he entered the principal street of the town, there were two galleries hung with black bays erected on each side ; on which stood fifteen virgins
cloathed

cloathed in white with palm-branches, and lighted tapers in their hands, and paid their respects to him as he went along. They stood about a spear's length from each other, and between every one of them was hung up a glass sconce with a lighted taper; and at the ends of each gallery were placed a champion and a Moor; the one supporting the arms of England, and the other the arms of Holland. Frequent gates were raised of rugged stones, adorned with tapers, and the arms of the principal artificers of the town. The streets were hung with broad cloths, on which abundance of red crosses were fastened, drawn on paper. As the way turned, upon an high scaffold raised over an arch, an imaginary battle was fought between the English and the Spaniards, and the English prevailing, an inscription was written underneath to this effect, "May our fortune be, as 'tis here represented, and bring freedom to ourselves and fame to England." And other lines in Latin, alluding to Britain, were exposed to public view.

As he moved forward, a lofty scaffold was erected, on which her majesty's arms were placed at large: upon it stood seven virgins, representing the seven provinces, each holding a spear, and supporting the arms of the province she was to denote; and in the midst was an armed Minerva, encompassed with the arms of England, on which the rest seemed to rely: and these were all presented to her majesty

jeſty by an old champion named Neceſſity. At ſome diſtance, on a like ſcaffold, ſeven perſons, expreſſing the ſeven liberal ſciences, were preſented to the earl, as due to him by merit. The ſtreets were all illuminated as he paſſed along, and many agreeable inventions deviſed upon the occaſion. Among the reſt, over againſt his lordſhip's gate, a barber had ſo diſpoſed above threeſcore baſons of bright copper, with a wax candle in every one of them, aſ to make a moſt glorious ſhew ; and in the miſt was placed the roſe and crown, with a ſuitable motto.

Upon his entrance into the court-gate, Arthur of Britain, involved in a cloud, whom they compared to the earl, was diſcerned upon a ſcaffold ; and within were entertainments of all kinds of muſical inſtruments.

Thus was he led in triumph through the city ; and, as he entered the great hall, he was welcomed to his lodging with the diſcharge of large vollies of ſhot. Great rejoicings were made in the town all the night long, with variety of fireworks, as rockets, ſquibs, wheels, and balls of fire, and an artificial dragon, which caſt out flames for near an hour together.

The next day, on the river adjoining to his lordſhip's lodging, a kind of tilting was performed upon the water in the following manner. From each end of the river came a boat running with ſix oars, and an armed man
ſtanding

standing in the stern, with a staff in his rest, having a but-end of cork: as they met they encountred, and both fell into the water, where other boats stood ready to assist them. This diversion was continued till my lord of Leicester grew weary of it, in compassionating the pain of the poor men that were thrown into the river.

On the third of January, his lordship entered Leyden with a large retinue of three hundred horse, very richly furnished. He was met upon the way by the chief townsmen, who congratulated his arrival among them. The first that addressed him were twelve burgo-masters in long black gowns, with the name of LEYDEN, in large letters of silver, upon their shoulders. These were followed by twelve of the principal burgesses, and a large train on horseback, dressed all in black velvet. From his entrance into the town, he was led to his seat through a covered street of different coloured saie, with a canopy borne over him; and, as soon as he was seated, two men, like poets, on a stage over against him, presented him with the following spectacle, representing the miseries they had endured, whilst besieged by the Spaniards about eight years before.

The first personage that appeared, was a fine woman richly dressed, denoting the town: she was long assaulted by Spaniards with false fires of shot, in order of battle; but not prevailing, they retired, and continued the siege
till.

till such time as provision grew scarce ; and then entered Famine, in a proper attire expressive of want ; who was followed by men rending asunder live cats and dogs, and feeding upon them ; and soldiers bereaving the women of their children and devouring them, She was now attacked by Pestilence, which was attended with heaps of carcases, buried in a disorderly manner ; and at length with the funeral of an officer, who had distinguished himself in the service, and was carried over the stage with dead marches, howling trumpets, colours wrapt up, trailed pikes, and drawn pieces ; and, as he was laid in the ground, was bid farewell with a volley of shot. The Spaniards were next represented as compassionating her miseries, and sending frequent messages to exhort her to yield ; to which she returned no answer, but, big with the hopes of assistance, ordered a light to be fixed on the pinnacle of the highest steeple in the town to give notice to the prince of Orange, who lay at Delph, that she expected succour ; and he again, by the device of a dove, sent back a promised aid ; which was returned with repeated assurances that she would still hold out till it should please Providence to favour her. Providence then entered the stage, upon whom she leaned, and seemed to repose her utmost confidence. By the help of Providence, a part of the wall was thrown down in the night with a vawmure of six and twenty poles. Upon this, the enemy,

my, apprehending the prince of Orange was entered with his force, have recourse to flight, are pursued by the town, and as many as were overtaken are put to the sword, whilst the lady and her attendants march off in triumph. Another woman was then introduced, armed like the former, and besieged by a Spaniard, courted by a Frenchman, and flattered twice by an Italian; but rejecting the Spaniard, she hastily leaped off the stage and hid herself under the earl of Leicester's cloak, and his lordship receiving her into his protection, the Spaniard put on an air of threatening and walked off. The earl led her home to his lodging, and put an end to the shew.

The next day he was publicly entertained by the town, and on the fifth of January went back to Donhage. Five days after he made a muster of part of his horsemen, to the number of five hundred and more, and distributed them into several garrisons, under several governors, and nominated the earl of Essex to be general of the horse. He then returned to Leyden, and caused a general fast to be proclaimed throughout Holland, Gelderland and Friseland, on the twelfth, which was observed with great solemnity and devotion. The lord lieutenant spent the day in hearing of sermons, and in prayer, in reading and singing of psalms, and neither eat himself, nor suffered any belonging to him to taste of meat till the evening. On the twenty-fourth of January he was visited at Donhage by the prince of Portugal, and

and on the twenty-fifth his lordship was installed and sworn, and the states took an oath to the queen. The manner of the instalment was as follows: at the upper end of the great hall the lord lieutenant was seated under the arms of England, and on each side of him, in a descent of two steps, sat twelve of the principal states, and the rest to the number of twenty were placed directly before him, but four or five steps lower. On his lordship's right hand stood the prince of Portugal, the lord Morley, Mr. Norris governor of Munster, Sir William Ruffel, Sir Robert Germain, and other persons of distinction: on his left were Grave Maurice, the earl of Essex, Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Parrat, and several others of rank and quality. A large oration was then made in Dutch, declaring the cause of the assembly, and concluding with acknowledgments to the queen and the lord lieutenant. After this the agreement between the states, the queen, and his lordship was read in Latin, and being interchangeably delivered by my lord to the states, and by the states to his lordship, he was desired to swear to the observance of the articles contained in it, which, holding up his hand to heaven, he did; and the states in like manner holding up their hands, did the same. And then again the states took an oath to the queen and her lord lieutenant, and retiring to his palace, were nobly entertained by his lordship. In the beginning of February he went to the Hague, where

where the states general were assembled, and on the sixth day of the month a grant was given him in writing of the chief government and absolute authority over the united provinces. After which the lord lieutenant applied himself to the business of his charge, and nominated certain superintendants to act under him in the several provinces; all of them natives of the country, and members of the great council. But when news was brought to queen Elizabeth, how large an honour and authority the states had conferred on his lordship, and that he had accepted it, she very highly resented his proceedings, and immediately dispatched her vice chamberlain to him with an expostulating letter; at the same time writing to the states general to turn Leicester out of that absolute authority, whose commission she had limited; not that she thought their cause unworthy to be favoured and assisted, but to provide for and secure her own honour, which she esteemed more dear to her than life itself.

The states returned a submissive answer, excused what they had done by the necessity they lay under, gave a softer sense to the word absolute than was generally meant by it, and laid before her the inconvenience of recalling a power they had already given. The earl of Leicester, too, lamenting his hard fate in having disobliged her, so wrought upon her easy disposition by his feigned sorrow, that she overlooked

looked the offence, and acquiesced in the declaration of the states.

Upon the arrival of the English succours, the Dutch were inspired with new hopes ; and the prince of Parma, the Spanish general, who had been raised to an expectation of soon reducing the Netherlands to the obedience of the catholic king, found he had a more powerful enemy to cope with than he had yet encountered : in their first attacks the English carried every thing before them ; and the earl of Leicester being then at Utrecht, in his progress through the Provinces, he received an account of his success against the enemy, from his lieutenant general Norris ; in consequence of which good news, he kept the feast of St. George, then nigh approaching, with a pomp and solemnity worthy of himself and his country.

On the twenty-third of April, being St. George's day, the streets of Utrecht were ranked with eight ensigns of burghers richly appointed, and wearing scarfs upon their arms knit like roses red and white, in the midst of whom the procession marched on horseback from the lord lieutenant's palace to the cathedral church. First rode the trumpeters, cloathed in scarlet laced with silver, sounding their instruments, their bannerols being displayed and richly limned with his lordship's arms. Next came the gentlemen, captains, colonels, and her majesty's sworn men, to the number of
forty

forty horse, in gold and silver stuffs, and various coloured silks. These were followed by six knights, four barons, the council of the estates, the earl of Essex and the electoral bishop of Cologne, and the prince of Portugal by himself. After whom marched the captain of the Guard, the treasurer and comptroller of the household, bearing white staves, two gentlemen ushers, and Portcullis herald in a rich coat of arms of England. And last of all came the lord lieutenant invested in the robes of the order, and guarded by the principal burghers of the town, who offered themselves to this service, besides his own guard, which consisted of fifty halberts in scarlet cloaks, edged with purple and white velvet. In this state he was conducted to the church, and paying his reverence to her majesty's seat, which was situate some degrees lower. After prayers and the sermon were ended, he proceeded to the offering, first for her majesty and then for himself, which part of the service he performed with such a grace and majestic deportment, as procured him the applause of the whole assembly.

From hence they returned to dinner, and were very honourably entertained at his lordship's palace. At the upper end of the hall was a sumptuous cloth and chair of state, designed for queen Elizabeth, with her majesty's arms and stile upon it, and before it a table covered in the same manner, as if her highness had been present; and at the lower end of it on
the

the left hand, were placed the stool and plate of the lord lieutenant, for he would have no chair. The company being assembled, his lordship knighted Sir Martin Skencke before the chair of state, for the many services he had done to his country, and then the ushers marshalled the feast. The dishes were brought up into the hall with the sound of trumpets, were served on the knee, and carved and tasted to her majesty's trencher.

The side-tables were all furnished in silver plate, and waited on by gentlemen, and upon the removal of the first course, and placing the second upon the queen's board, the ushers cried, "A hall." which being made with some difficulty, by reason of the crowd, they brought up between them Portcullis herald, invested with the arms of England, who after he had thrice paid his reverence to the chair of state, pronounced in Latin, French, and English, the queen's usual stile, of England, France and Ireland, defendress of the faith, &c. and then cried aloud thrice, "Largeesse."

When dinner was over, there passed several entertainments of dancing, vaulting, and tumbling; and after supper several acts of chivalry were performed, wherein the earl of Essex distinguished himself above the rest.

From Utrecht his excellency passed to Arnheim with a considerable force, designing to relieve Grave, then besieged. But before his lordship could bring up his succours, Van Hemart, the governor, surrendered, and delivered

livered the town up to the duke of Parma, to which capitulation they say he was induced by the persuasions of a kept mistress; however, his cowardice cost him his life. The earl of Leicester presently ordered him to be apprehended, and for an example of terror caused him and two other officers concerned with him, to be put to an ignominious death. There were found in the town, as Strada reports, twenty-seven pieces of cannon, an hundred and eight barrels of gunpowder, and a sufficient quantity of provision to support six thousand men for a whole year. And, in the meantime, the earl of Leicester drew the Spaniards from their strong holds in other places.

It is not our purpose, however, to give a distinct recital of the several battles, sieges, and skirmishes, which happened between the Spanish forces and those of the confederates. The earl of Leicester certainly, in many instances, shewed himself a brave man, if not a great general; and the English and Dutch, for the most part, had the better of their enemies. Yet, when the lord lieutenant came to the Hague after his second campaign, where the states of the country were then assembled, they received him with coldness, and soon broke out in expostulation and complaint; in a moderate way desiring a redress. But he in return entered upon a justification of his proceedings, strove to remove their supposed misconstructions and mistakes, and at last endeavoured to dissolve the assembly; but not be-

ing able to bring about his purpose, he declared his resolution of returning to England, and left the council in an angry manner. However, he seems afterwards to have been brought to temper, and to have told the states, that by his journey into England, he should be the more enabled to assist them in their affairs, and provide a remedy to all their grievances.

When the day came for his departure, by a public act he gave up the care of the provinces into the hands of the council of state; but privately, the same day, by an act of restriction, he reserved an authority to himself over all governors of provinces, forts and cities; and farther took away from the council and the presidents of provinces their accustomed jurisdiction. And thus he set sail for England.

But whatever might be the pretence for Leicester's leaving the Low-Countries at this conjuncture, his presence in England seems not to have been at all unacceptable to queen Elizabeth. The late conspiracies, which had been formed in favour of the queen of Scots, had made a deep impression upon her majesty, and she appears to have been now resolved to dispatch her competitor; but the difficulty lay in what manner it should be done; and she knew she could securely rely upon Leicester's fidelity. When the matter was brought before the council, his lordship is said to have advised to take her off by poison; but this scheme

scheme being openly opposed by secretary Walsingham, who had refused to give ear to the private insinuations of a court-divine, whom his lordship had sent to draw him into a consent, it was at last determined to proceed against her by a late act in the twenty-seventh year of queen Elizabeth, which had been purposely made upon this occasion. And thus the unfortunate queen was brought to her trial, and lord Leicester constituted one of her judges. After sentence of condemnation had been pronounced against her, queen Elizabeth was no less perplexed, in what manner she should proceed to her execution. She was desirous, as much as possible, to remove the blame from herself; and the earl of Leicester observing it to be her majesty's inclination, again advised her to make her secretly away. And the queen seems so far to have come into his sentiments, that she ordered her secretaries Davison and Walsingham to write to Fotheringay, where the queen of Scots was then imprisoned, to have her taken off by violence. But the keepers, detesting the action, declined the office, and her majesty, within a few days after, fell a public sacrifice by the hands of an executioner.

In the mean time the affairs of the Low-Countries were in a very unprosperous condition. And the governors of the provinces gave in loud complaints against the earl of Leicesters administration. During his stay in England they called together the states general,

ral, and to preserve their country, they agreed to invest prince Maurice with the full power and authority of Stadtholder. And pursuant to this determination, they obliged all the officers to receive a new commission from him, and to take a new oath to the states, and discharged all recusants whatsoever from the service.

Queen Elizabeth was highly displeased with these alterations in the government. She immediately sent over lord Buckhurst to enquire into the matter, to complain of the innovations they had introduced in the earl of Leicester's absence, and to settle all differences between them. The states in return assured her majesty, that their proceedings were but provisional, and enforced through fear of a general revolt in consequence of their losses; and that at his lordship's return they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority; for the states were too well acquainted with the share Leicester bore in her majesty's affection, to attempt any accusation against him. But notwithstanding many outward professions of regard, they inwardly hated him, and privately proceeded in the execution of their projects, to straiten his power.

These proceedings however were by no means agreeable to the majority of the people; and the clergy, who were firm in the interest of the earl of Leicester, threatened to be revenged of the states, if the queen should take any offence at their alterations. The synod

synod at Sneek, in particular, presented a petition to lord Buckhurst to be transmitted to Elizabeth, in which they invite her to come to the assistance of Christ, who threw himself and his children into her arms, and implored her protection.

And the preachers at Amsterdam had openly inveighed against the magistrates from the pulpit, and the people set up libels against the states. But as these disorders were at the point of being carried to the utmost extremity, lord Buckhurst signified to them from her majesty, that it was her inclination to send back the earl of Leicester into the Low-Countries, which gave a check to their violence, and put a farther stop to the proceedings of the states, who then, both publicly and privately, assured lord Buckhurst of all duty and fidelity to him; But the queen requiring, before she could be prevailed on to give consent to his lordship's return, some promises and provisos, which the states resolutely refused to comply with; Buckhurst again declared, that he had no commission from her majesty to promise his lordship's return to them.

The demands made by the queen from the Dutch, increased the indignation of the great men of that country against the earl of Leicester. They now saw plainly, he sought not so much their advantage, as the gratification of his own ambition. It was their part therefore to provide for their own security, and guard

against any future encroachments he might hereafter attempt upon their constitution. But while they were employed in this attempt their perils from the Spaniards encreased so continually upon them, that there seemed no other possible remedy to prevent their entire ruin and subversion, but a present governor, attended with a present supply of men and money. Lord Buckhurst was not wanting to notify their distresses to queen Elizabeth, but Leicester's demands were so great from her majesty, that she continued doubtful for some time, whether she should again employ him in that service. This engaged lord Buckhurst to draw up a new scheme for the government of the united provinces, which offended the earl of Leicester so much, that he never forgave it. Yet Buckhurst still continued to make application to the court of England, laid open the miseries to which the provinces were reduced, and with pressing instances recommended the consideration of their necessity to her majesty. And in the end the queen's treasurer arrived with money, to the great joy of his lordship, and the comfort of the distressed soldiers, who had long been without pay and necessaries.

Nothing now seemed wanting but the earl of Leicester's presence. The queen at last became sensible of the inconveniencies attending upon any farther delay, and after some fruitless endeavours towards a peace, gave consent to his

his lordship's return, and ordered him to make ready for his journey. Before his departure several letters passed between him and the ministers of South Holland, and one of them was written in the manner following.

Gentlemen,

“ That I did not return such an answer to several of your letters as you desired and expected, was not for want of a good-will towards serving the cause of God, and defending the poor people; but it was because I had not yet received her majesty's resolutions about what was farther necessary to be done for the service of your country. But the queen having given me full directions with regard to the forces she will send to your assistance, and having laid her commands upon me to return; I therefore, postponing all private views and considerations, and abandoning all those advantages, which God has bestowed upon me in this kingdom, intend to hasten over, and satisfy the desires of a people, who have so often called for me; to which the zeal and good inclinations of some have more induced me, than the demerits of others, that suffer themselves to be made tools for keeping me back by slanders and detractions; which I shall nevertheless enter into my book of oblivion, that no harm may befall those, who seek to do me such disservices; and I hope I shall

never give the people any cause to diminish their good-will and affection for me. In the mean time, I intreat you to go on in your duty, and to admonish and excite those under your care to peace and unity, to the end that they may more and more deserve all the benefits they receive. For the rest I refer myself to my arrival, and so I recommend you, gentlemen, to the protection of the almighty."

Your good friend,

Given at London,

Jan. 7. O. S.

R. LEICESTER.

But as every thing stood still till his lordship's arrival in Holland, the Spaniards had great advantage of the Dutch, who thought, or rather feared, they could not act properly, though for their own defence, till the earl of Leicester came to head the English forces.

The duke of Parma had besieged Sluys, and the town was reduced to the utmost extremity, when Leicester set sail from England with a considerable supply both of horse and foot. Prince Maurice and the deputies of the states attended upon him at Flushing, to congratulate his return, and left count Hollack to watch the motions of the enemy. When they had talked upon the subject of raising the siege, it was determined to attempt it by sea. To this end they fitted out as many ships as were thought expedient, and sent on board them about five thousand foot and six hundred horse, with
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all necessary provision, for the relief of the town. Within a few hours after the fleet appeared in the channel, and the earl of Leicester made signs to the besieged, that he was come to their assistance: but upon stricter enquiry, finding the channel blocked up, and the passage secure, he saw it would be in vain to endeavour to proceed any farther. For three days he continued in suspense what step he should take; and at last weighing anchor, he bent his course towards Ostend, with a resolution to succour the besieged by land. But the duke of Parma apprehending his design, immediately sent a reinforcement of horse and foot to oppose his progress. As soon as the earl of Leicester had landed his men, he prepared to attack a very important fort, and joining the whole garrison of Ostend to his army, marched up directly against it. The duke of Parma, therefore, leaving the siege every where well provided, led the remainder of his army to the defence of the fort against his lordship. The English troops were upon the point to begin their batteries, but upon sight of the enemy's army, they deferred their hostilities, and after some consultation retired to ostend. From hence they returned with the same fleet to the place where they had formerly been at anchor, not far from Sluys; and the duke of Parma, marching suddenly back, again presented himself to their view; and took from them all possible hope of relieving the town. And thus they

found themselves under a necessity to retire again, and never after attempt to be seen there any more.

The loss of Sluys, which soon followed, renewed the misunderstanding between the earl of Leicester and the states, whilst the blame of the action was thrown, by each party, upon the mismanagement of the other. And this dissatisfaction encreasing, they refused to re-establish him in that absolute authority, which had been conferred upon him at his first arrival. The earl of Leicester openly expressed his displeasure against the states, and is charged with having entered into indirect practices. The magistrates of Leyden had private information, that a scheme was formed to surprise the town, and change the governors. And certain companies of English soldiers had marched to Maesland, and Delfshaven, with directions to seize upon the person of Oldenbarnevelt, advocate and counsellor to the states of Holland, whom his lordship had destined to destruction, with thirteen others of the principal asserters of the liberties of their country, by the hands of an executioner. And prince Maurice, upon the discovery, left the Hague the next day, to avoid the ruin which seemed to threaten him. But the common people were so overswayed with the appearances of piety and zeal in the earl of Leicester, as to approve of all he did. Within a few days his Lordship went to Utrecht, where he was very diligent to form an interest among the townsmen

townsmen in his favour ; and from thence he made a progress through the country, conversing chiefly with the ministers and private persons, and sowing the seeds of discord and division wherever he came.

He is said to have engaged in a design against Amsterdam, but the magistrates got notice of his project, and prevented its execution. Upon this disappointment he directed his course towards North-Holland, and cast his eye upon Enkhuyzen. And here he thought he was secure of his purpose, by reason the clergy had a great influence over the town. But the minister took part with the magistrates, and recommended the duty of subjection in such pressing terms from the pulpit, that the people were all unanimous in supporting their authority. With this encouragement they sent a letter to his lordship, as he was upon his journey, desiring he would decline to visit them upon this occasion. He answered their letter, and took no notice of his coming, but notwithstanding went on ship-board at Hoorn, and marched directly towards them. Hereupon they assembled all the officers of the militia, and after some consultations about the common safety, agreed to place a guard at their gates ; and when his lordship was advanced within a league of the city, they dispatched certain members of their senate to him, to dissuade his proceeding any farther.

The deputies delivered their message with submission and respect ; but his lordship being apprehensive that the gates would be shut upon him, passed the night at Streek, and the next morning turned aside to Medenblike.

About this time, a certain Fleming, who had been placed as a spy upon his lordship, and had frequently disclosed his counsels, and given seasonable notice of his designs, appears to have been discovered, and was never heard of any more.

In the mean time, the ministers were every where very industrious to promote the honour and interests of his lordship. In the beginning of October, certain of them drew up a memorial, in the name of the Dutch and Walloon churches ; which they presented to the states ; who heard them with patience, and civilly told them, They would consider of their memorial. But, within a few days after, as the application of the ministers had been public, the states judged proper to draw up a public answer ; which they caused to be printed and distributed to the magistrates in every town of Holland and West-friesland, with directions to summon the clergy before them, to put a copy of it into their hands, and to bid them exhort their congregations to unity and peace ; to give heed to teaching and preaching ; and to leave matters of government and policy to the states and magistrates. But this reproof seems to have been ill received
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by the ministers, who declared they had done nothing but their duty, and did not expect so unkind a return.

About this time, Provink, a creature of the earl of Leicester's, attempted to stir up the people of Dort to an insurrection in his lordship's favour. To this end he had drawn up a petition, to have been signed and presented by them to his lordship; in which, after several investives against the states, they promised to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and to use their utmost power to the establishing his authority every where. This paper being shewn to the minister, he dissuaded the execution of the enterprize; and so the project was dropped for that time. It afterwards fell into the hands of the magistrates, who, though most of them inclined to favour the English interest, thought proper to lay it before the assembly of the states, then sitting at Harlem.

But the spirit of discord and rebellion was no where more prevalent than it was at Leyden. Many thousands of Flemish and Brabanders, who had taken shelter here during the late persecutions, had contracted an aversion to the states, upon an imagination that the cause of the church and the earl of Leicester were so closely united, that every diminution of his lordship's authority was a disservice to religion.

The earl of Leicester considering this, sent for Cosmo de Pescarengiis, a native of Piedmont, who had been formerly a pawnbroker

at Leyden, but was now a disbanded colonel, and ready to engage in any desperate undertaking. He laid before him the inclinations of the people of Leyden to reduce the city to his obedience; shewed him how easy it was to accomplish their purpose; that nothing more was wanting than an officer of resolution to head them; and pressed Cosmo to assist in the service. Cosmo, with little persuasion, was induced to comply, but he wanted his lordship to give him instructions in writing. But my lord made answer, He would support his own work, that he would never forsake him, but fly to his assistance in case of difficulty, though at the expence of all his fortune.

When Cosmo was come to Leyden, he made his application to Nicholas de Maulde, a young officer of reputation, who belonged to the garrison, and gained him over to the English interest. The same day the chief of the faction met at Cosmo's lodgings, to debate upon the execution of their project, and what was the most efficacious method of seizing upon the magistrates. And here it was agreed to make use of De Maulde's company, and the soldiers of one Heraugiere, which were to be brought from Delft upon this occasion. Some few days after, Cosmo, upon suspicion of some other crime, was taken up and imprisoned. This accident struck a terror into the rest of the conspirators, who judged they were all discovered: but soon learning their mistake, they sent Volmaer to the earl of Leicester, to consult

consult with him what was farther to be done. His lordship required them to go on, and expressed his dissatisfaction at their delays.

Upon the return of their messenger, they met once more at Meetkirke's house, and determined to execute their design on the Sunday following. Maulde, by my lord of Leicester's orders, was to ask leave of the magistrates to draw his company out of the town the evening before; and, under this pretext, was, early the next morning, to march his soldiers along the Broadstreet as far as the stadthouse, where he was to be stopped by fifty or sixty of the armed citizens, who should declare that they had taken up arms for the service of the church and his excellency the earl of Leicester. They were then to seize the stadthouse, and to publish a declaration, That the good Burghers had been obliged to take up arms for the service of the queen of England, for the maintenance of the true religion, and for re-establishing the earl of Leicester," &c. And their watch-word was to have been, "Long live the queen of England, and the earl of Leicester."

However, the day came, and nothing was effected. They were afraid, it seems, lest the citizens, whom they had drawn into the conspiracy, should be backward in the insurrection; and thus the mischief, which they had designed for others should revert on themselves.

In the mean time, one of the conspirators, named Andrew Schott, disclosed the whole affair

fair to the magistrates; whereupon Volmaer was taken up, Cosmo more strictly confined, and captain Maulde apprehended at Woerden, and carried back to Leyden. Volmaer confessed all he was accused of, but threw the blame upon the earl of Leicester. He was desired to produce his commission; but he said he had relied upon his lordship's honour, and acted only by a verbal order. And, when he was told that the earl would deny his word, "Why then," said he, "I am a dead man." Cosmo declared that the earl of Leicester had drawn him into this design by the promise of a reward. And De Moulde confessed, that he was led aside by the insinuations of Cosmo, the name of the earl of Leicester, and the credit of Meetkirke. Cosmo only was exposed to torture; and, as he was upon the rack, cried out upon his lordship, "O excellence, à quoy employez vous les gens!" The other two were sentenced to be beheaded.

The earl of Leicester was at Alkmaer when news was brought him of the sad fate of his confederates, and is reported to have said, "'Tis high time to take care of my own head." And, not long after, he left the country, and returned into England, leaving the administration of the provinces to the states themselves.

At his departure, he privately distributed among the members of his faction certain gold medals, stamped with his own effigies on one side,

side, and, on the reverse, a dog ready to depart, looking back upon a flock of sheep, from whence some had strayed. Over the dog was this inscription, "*Invitus defero;*" and near the sheep, "*Non gregem, sed ingratos.*"

Prince Maurice was immediately appointed governor of the United Provinces in his lordship's stead; and the lord Willoughby made general of the English forces in the Low-Countries by her majesty. But, notwithstanding his absence, he is reported to have still fomented divisions in the country. But the queen, considering the dangers which now threatened her from the preparations in Spain, gave orders to my lord Willoughby to check the seditious spirit in the Low-Countries, and reduce the disaffected to a submission to the states; which, by the assistance of prince Maurice, he happily performed.

It is said, that lord Leicester, upon his return, finding an accusation was preparing against him by Buckhurst, and others of his enemies, for his misconduct in the Low-Countries; and that he was summoned to appear and give an account of his behaviour before the council; privately threw himself at her majesty's feet, and implored her protection: and, that the queen was so pacified with his expressions of humility and sorrow, as to pass by the displeasure she had conceived against him, and admit him into her former grace and affection.

The next day, when it was expected he should have given in his answer, he took his place at the council-table; and, when the secretary had begun to read his accusation, he rose up and interrupted him, complaining of the injuries that had been offered him, and declaring that his public commission was limited by private instructions; and making his appeal to the queen, he evaded the accusation, and came off in triumph. But it fared not so with lord Buckhurst; for Leicester's aversion to him, and power with the queen, so far prevailed, that a censure was passed upon his negotiation, and his lordship was confined to his house for several months.

The preparations in the ports of Spain had already made a great noise, and there was no doubt but their principal views were directed against England. The queen was not negligent in making all preparations requisite for her defence. She fitted out a considerable fleet under the command of the lord Howard of Effingham, and farther lined the southern coasts with twenty thousand men. An army of one thousand horse, and twenty-two thousand foot, was commanded by her general the earl of Leicester, and encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames; and another of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, was under the command of the lord Hunsdon, and kept as a guard upon the queen's person.

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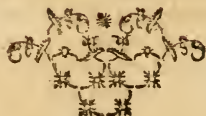
Upon the encampment at Tilbury, her majesty rode through all the squadrons of her army, attended by the earls of Leicester and Essex, and Norris, lord-marshal, on foot: and, having viewed them all, she expressed her satisfaction of their fidelity, and her sense of my lord of Leicester's merit, in a noble speech.

But, notwithstanding her majesty's commendation, there was no opportunity for his lordship to exert his abilities on this occasion; for the Spanish army never landed on the shore. And this was the last expedition in which his lordship was engaged; for retiring soon after to his castle at Kenilworth, as he was upon his journey, he was taken ill of a fever at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire; of which he died on the fourth of September following.

“He was esteemed,” says Mr. Camden, “a most accomplished courtier, free and bountiful to soldiers and students; a cunning time-server, and respecter of his own advantages; of a disposition ready and apt to please; crafty and subtle towards his adversaries; much given formerly to women, and in his latter days doating extremely upon marriage. But, whilst he preferred power and greatness, which is subject to be envied, before solid virtue, his detracting emulators found large matter to speak reproachfully of him; and, even when he was in his most flourishing condition, spared not disgracefully to defame him
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by libels, not without a mixture of some untruths."

It is said, that he died in the queen's debt; and, that her majesty caused his goods to be sold at a public sale, that payment might be made; for, however favourable she might have been in all other respects, the queen is observed never to have remitted the debts that were owing to her Treasury. From Cornbury Park his corpse was removed to Warwick, where he was interred in our Lady's chapel, adjoining to the choir of the collegiate-church, and a very noble monument erected to his memory.





S.^r Francis Drake. *I Fougéron sculp*



THE LIFE OF

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

THIS famous voyager was born near South-Tavestock, in Devonshire, his father being a minister, who, for fear of the six articles, in the reign of Henry VIII. was forced to secure himself in the hull of a ship, where he had many of his younger sons, having twelve in all, most of them born on the water.

After the death of Henry VIII. Mr. Drake got a place to read prayers in the royal navy, and bound his eldest son, Francis, apprentice to a ship-master, who traded to France and Holland; with whom he endured much hardship. It is said, that, at the age of eighteen, he was purser of a ship trading to the Bay of Biscay. At twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea; and, at the age of twenty-two, was appointed captain of the *Judith*; and, in that capacity, was in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico; where he behaved very gallantly in the glorious action under Sir John Hawkins; and returned with him to England with a high reputation, but stripped of all, and very poor.

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Soon after this, he conceived a design of making reprisals on the king of Spain; which, according to some, was put into his head by the chaplain of the ship: and, indeed, the case was clear in sea-divinity, that the subjects of the king of Spain had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore he was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on them in return. This doctrine, however roughly preached, was very taking in England; and, therefore, no sooner did he publish his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though not actuated by the same motives, and without any such pretence to colour their proceeding as he had.

In 1570, he made his first voyage with two ships, the Dragon and Swan; and the next year in the Swan alone: from which last expedition he returned safe, if not rich. Tho' we have no particular account of these two voyages, or what Drake performed in them, yet nothing is clearer than that captain Drake had two great points in view: the one was, to inform himself perfectly of the situation and strength of certain places in the Spanish West-Indies; the other, to convince his countrymen, that, notwithstanding what had happened to captain Hawkins, in his last voyage, it was a thing very practicable to sail into these parts, and return in safety: for it is to be observed, that Hawkins and Drake separated in the West-Indies; and, that the former, find-
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ing it impossible to bring all his crew home to England, had set part of them, but with their own consent, ashore in the bay of Mexico; and, indeed, few of these finding their way home, the terror of such a captivity as they were known to endure, had a prodigious effect. But captain Drake, in these two voyages, having very wisely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home sufficient returns to satisfy his owners, dissipated these apprehensions, as well as raised his own character: so that, at his return from his second voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raise such a strength as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, which otherwise he never would have been able to effect.

Having now means sufficient to perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design; which he put in execution on the twenty-fifth of March: for, on that day, he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship called the *Pafeta*, burden seventy tons; and his brother, John Drake, in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons; their whole strength consisting of only seventy-three men and boys: and with this small force, on the twenty-second of July, in the year following, 1573, attacked the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which then served the Spaniards for the same purposes as *Porto-Bello* does now. He took it in a few hours by storm,

storm, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet, after all, with little advantage, being obliged, after a very brisk action, to betake themselves to their ships.

His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this too he failed: however, attacking the former town, he carried it, and got some little plunder. In their return, they unexpectedly met with fifty mules laden with plate; of which they carried off as much as possible, and buried the rest. In these enterprises he was very greatly assisted by a nation of Indians, perpetually engaged in war with the Spaniards. The prince, or captain, of this tribe, whose name was Pedro, captain Drake presented with a fine cut-lafs, of which he saw the Indian was very fond. In return, Pedro gave him four large wedges of gold; all which captain Drake threw into the common stock, adding withal, That he thought it but just, that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage, on his credit, should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced. Then embarking his men, with a very considerable booty, he bore away for England; and, in twenty-three days, sailed from Cape Florida to the isles of Scilly; and from thence arrived safe at Plymouth on the ninth of August.

His success in this expedition, joined to his upright behaviour towards his owners, together

ther with the use he made of his riches, gained him a very high reputation; for, in 1575, fitting out three frigates at his own expence, he sailed with them to Ireland; where, under Walter, earl of Essex, (father to the earl who had been beheaded) he served as a volunteer, and did many glorious exploits.

After the death of his patron, he returned to England, in 1576; where Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, took him under his protection; introduced him to her majesty, and procured him her countenance. By this means he was enabled to undertake that grand expedition which will immortalize his name. The first thing he proposed was a voyage into the South-Seas, through the Straits of Magellan, hitherto unattempted by any Englishman. This project was well received at court, and captain Drake soon saw himself at the height of his wishes; for, in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the South-Seas, he ardently prayed to God that he might sail an English ship in them; which now he found an opportunity of attempting, the queen, by her permission, furnishing him with the means; and his own fame quickly drawing to him a sufficient force for that purpose.

While he meditated on this great design in his own breast, without communicating it to any, he took care to procure the best lights, to engage several bold and active men to serve

under him where-ever he went ; and, by a well-timed display of public spirit, made himself known to, and gained, some powerful friends at court. But, in 1577, while he was thus warily contriving what he afterwards so happily executed, one John Oxenham, who had gained great reputation by his gallant behaviour in the last voyage under him, believed he had penetrated captain Drake's scheme, and thought to be before hand with him in the execution of it. Accordingly, this man sailed in a bark of one hundred and forty tons, with seventy brave fellows, to Nombre de Dios ; where, laying his bark up in a creek, he marched across the isthmus with his companions ; got into the South-Seas with some canoes ; and took two Spanish ships with an immense treasure in gold and silver : but, being without Drake's abilities and generosity, though nothing inferior to him in courage, fell out with his men ; which occasioned such a delay in his return, that the Spaniards recovered their treasure ; destroyed many of his crew ; and, at length, took him, with four of his companions ; whom, for want of a commission to justify their proceedings, they hanged as pirates.

Captain Drake, before he had any knowledge of the issue of this business, and being acquainted with no more than what was public throughout all the west of England, that Oxenham was sailed upon some such design,

design, brought his own project to bear, thro' the light of his own judgment, and at the expence of private persons, who had an entire confidence in him ; for the fleet with which he sailed on this extraordinary enterprize, consisted of the following ships : viz. The Pelican, of one hundred tons, commanded by himself ; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, of eighty tons, under the command of captain John Winter ; the Marygold, a bark of fifty tons, under captain John Chester ; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain Thomas Moon. In this fleet the whole number of hands embarked, but amounted to no more than one hundred and sixty-four able men, with all necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage ; the intent of which was, however, not publicly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though it was generally suspected, and many knew, that it was designed for America.

On the twenty-fifth of the same month, he fell in with the coast of Barbary ; and, on the twenty-ninth, with Cape de Verd. The thirteenth of March he passed the line ; the fifth of April he made the coast of Brazil, in 30° N. lat. and entered the river de la Plata, where he lost the company of two of his fleet ; but, meeting them again, and taking out all their hands, and the provisions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the twenty-ninth of May he entered the port of St. Julian's,

where he executed Mr. John Doughty, who was next in authority to himself; in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice.

It will, however, be necessary to give an account of this affair, as it was one of the most remarkable passages in our hero's life, with regard to his moral character. After he had continued about two months in port St. Julian, lying within one degree of the Streights of Magellan, to make the necessary preparations for passing the streights with safety, on a sudden having carried the principal persons engaged in the service to a desert island lying in the bay, he called a court-martial, where he opened his commission; by which the queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered him with this remarkable expression from her own mouth: "We do account that he, Drake, who strikes at thee, does strike at us." He then explained with that wonderful fluency of speech which, with indifferent education, he was naturally master of, the cause of the assembly; and proceeded next to charge Mr. John Doughty, who had been second in command during the whole voyage, first, with plotting in his absence to murder him.

"We had," said he, "the first notice of this gentleman's intentions before he left England, but was in hopes his behaviour would have extinguished such dispositions, if there had been any truth in the information."

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He then appealed for his behaviour to the whole assembly, and to the gentleman accused: he next exposed his practices from the time they left England, while he behaved towards him with all the kindness and cordiality of a brother; supporting his charge by producing papers under his own hand; to which Mr. Doughty added a full and free confession. After this, the captain, or, as he was then called, the general, quitted the place, telling the assembly he expected that they should pass a verdict upon him; for he would be no judge in his own cause.

Camden says he was tried by a jury. The accounts affirm, that the whole forty persons of which the court consisted, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and seals, leaving the time and manner of it to the general. Upon this, captain Drake, having maturely weighed the whole affair, gave Mr. Doughty his choice of three things. First, to be executed on the island where they were; secondly, to be set ashore on the main land; or, lastly, to be sent home to abide the justice of his country. After desiring till next day to consider of these, he declared, that he made the first his choice; and, having received the sacrament with the general from the hands of Mr. Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the fleet, and made a full confession, his head was severed from his body with an axe by the provost-marshal, on the second of July, 1578.

This island had been the scene of another affair exactly of the same kind, fifty eight years before, when Magellan caused John de Carthagena, who was joined in commission with him by the king of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence; and from hence it was called the island of true justice.

But to return to an account of captain Drake's voyage; on the twentieth of August, 1579, he entered the Streights of Magellan; on the twenty-fifth he passed them, having then with him only his own ship, which, in the South-Seas, he new named the Hind: on the 25th of November he came to Macao, in 33° lat. where he had appointed a rendezvous in case his ships were parted; but captain Winter having repassed the streights, returned to England. From Macao, Drake continued his voyage along the coasts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of seizing Spanish ships, or of landing and attacking them on shore, till they were sated with plunder; and then coasting North-America, to the height of 48° , he endeavoured to find a passage back into the Atlantic Ocean on that side.—A convincing evidence of his consummate skill and undaunted courage: for, if ever such a passage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method.

Here, being disappointed of what he sought, he landed, and called the country New Albion; taking possession of it in the name, and
for

for the use, of queen Elizabeth; and, after careening his ship, set sail from thence, on the twenty-ninth of September, for the Molucca islands. He chose this passage round rather than to return by the Streights of Magellan; partly from the danger of being attacked by the Spaniards, and partly from the lateness of the season, when dreadful storms and hurricanes were to be apprehended. Perhaps too, he gave out among his seamen, that he was deterred by the confident, though false, reports of the Spaniards, that the Streights could not be re-passed; for it had actually been done by captain John Winter, though Drake and his company could know nothing of it then.

But that captain Drake could not apprehend any impossibility in the thing itself appears from hence, that, in this very voyage he had not only passed them, but had also been driven back again, not through the streights indeed, but in the open sea; of which Sir Richard Hawkins gives the following account from the captain's own mouth: "In all the streights it ebbeth and floweth more or less. If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the wind good, he may keep the main sea, and go round about the streights to the southward; and this is the shorter way. For, besides the experience which we made, that all the south part of the streights is but islands, many times having the sea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that, having shot the

streights, a storm took him, first, at north-west, and afterwards veered about to the south-west; which continued with him many days with such extremity that he could not open any sail; and, that at the end of the storm he found himself in fifty degrees: which was sufficient proof that he was beaten round about the streights; for the least height of the streights is in 52° and $50'$, in which stand the two entrances, or mouths. And, moreover, he said, that, standing about when the wind changed, he was not well able to double the southernmost island, and so anchored under the lee of it; and going ashore carried a compass with him; and seeking out the southernmost part of the island, cast himself down upon the uttermost point, groveling, and so reached out his body over it. Soon after, he embarked; where he acquainted his people that he had been upon the southernmost known land in the world; and further to the southward upon it than any man yet known."

On the 13th of October, Drake fell in with certain islands inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the fourth of November he had sight of the Moluccas; and, coming to the island of Ternate, was extremely well received by the king of that island, who seems to have been a wise and polite prince. On the tenth of December he made Celebes; where, his ship running on a rock, on the ninth of January they got
off

off and continued their course. On the sixteenth of March, 1580, he arrived at Java Major, thence intending to have proceeded to Malacca, he found himself obliged to think of returning home immediately. On the twenty-fifth he put this design in execution; and, on the fifteenth of June, doubling the Cape, he had on board his ship fifty-seven men, and but three casks of water. On the twelfth of July he crossed the Line; reached the coast of Guiney on the sixteenth, and there took in water. On the eleventh of September, he made the island of Tercera; and, on the third of November following, entered the harbour of Plymouth.

In this voyage he completely surrounded the globe, which no commander in chief had done before him.

Drake's success in this voyage, and the immense treasure he brought home with him, became the general topic of conversation, some highly commending, and others as loudly censuring him. In this uncertainty matters continued during the remainder of this year, 1581, and the spring of the next; when, at length, on the 14th of April, her majesty going to Deptford, went on board Drake's ship; where, after dinner, she conferred the honour of knighthood on him, and declared her absolute approbation of all he had done. She also gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument both of

himself and his country. But time, that destroys all things, having made great breaches in this vessel, which, for many years, had been viewed with admiration at Deptford, was at length broken up, and a chair made out of the planks was presented, by John Davies, esq. to the university of Oxford, where it is still preserved.

In the year 1585, he again sailed to the West-Indies. In this expedition he took the cities of St. Jago, St. Dominico, Carthagena, and St. Augustine; by which he even exceeded the most sanguine hopes of his warmest friends. Yet the profits of this voyage were but moderate, Sir Francis's design being rather to weaken the enemy than enrich himself.

Two years afterwards he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail; and, receiving intelligence of a considerable fleet assembled in the bay of Cadiz, intended to make part of the Spanish armada, he bravely entered that port, and burnt upwards of ten thousand tons of shipping: then, having advice of a large Caracca ship expected at the island of Tercera from the East-Indies, he sailed thither; and, though his men were in great want of provisions, he prevailed on them to go through those hardships for a few days; in which time the East-India ship arriving, he took and carried her home in triumph: so that, during all the war, no expedition was so happily conducted as this, either with regard to reputa-
tion

tion or profit: and therefore it is the less surprising, that, upon his return, he was something elated with the high applause he received. In this he was, however, the more excusable, as his pride always vented itself in the service of the public.

It is here to be observed, that, though our intrepid seaman in his voyage round the world had the queen's commission, yet he commanded none of her ships; but, in this expedition of 1587, Sir Francis was on board a man of war, and his vice-admiral, Forbisher, was in another; besides which he had two more of her majesty's ships, together with twenty-six sail of several sizes fitted out by the merchants of London.

In the year 1588, Sir Francis undertook to convey water to the town of Plymouth, for want of which, till then, it was greatly distressed; and performed it by bringing thither a stream from springs at the distance of eight miles, if the distance be measured in a straight line; but in the manner by which he conducted it, the course it runs is upwards of twenty miles.

This year also he was appointed vice-admiral under lord Charles Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England: here he was as fortunate as ever, for he took a prize of a very large galleon, commanded by don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded without striking a blow at the bare mention of his name. This don
Pedro

Pedro remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's prisoner in England, and, when he was released, paid him for his own liberty, and that of his two captains, a ransom of three thousand five hundred pounds.

From the vessel taken above, 50,000 ducats were distributed among his sailors and soldiers; which liberal share not a little riveted the affection they had for their valiant commander. It must, however, be owned, that, through an oversight of his, the admiral ran a great hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake was appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights in his ship for the direction of the English fleet; but, being in pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Hans towns, neglected it; which occasioned the admiral's following the Spanish lights, and in the morning found himself in the centre of the enemy's fleet. But his succeeding services sufficiently attoned for this oversight, the greatest execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by his squadron.

Next year, 1589, Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral of the fleet sent to restore don Antonio, king of Portugal, and the command of the land-forces given to Sir John Norris. But the fleet was scarce at sea before the commanders differed; the occasion of which was this: the general was earnest for landing at the Groyne; whereas the admiral and sea-officers were for sailing directly to Lisbon;

Lisbon; in which, had their advice been taken, doubtless their enterprize had succeeded, and don Antonio been restored; for the enemy made such good use of the time in fortifying Lisbon, that no impression could be made. Sir John, indeed, marched by land to Lisbon, and Sir Francis promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet; but, upon perceiving the consequences, he chose rather to break his word than hazard the queen's navy; for which he was highly reproached by Norris, and the miscarriage of the whole affair imputed to the failure in his promise. Yet Sir Francis fully justified himself on his return; for he shewed the queen and council, that whatever was done there or elsewhere, for the credit of the nation, was performed solely by the fleet, and by his orders; in consequence of which, a large fleet, laden with naval stores from the Hans towns, was taken, with a great quantity of ammunition and artillery on board: that his sailing up the river of Lisbon would have signified nothing to the taking the castle, which was two miles off; and, that, without reducing it, there was no taking the city. He further shewed, that, had it not been for the fleet, the army must have been starved; and, that, if they had stayed any longer, neither fleet nor army could have returned home; and, that, when he found that he could not prevail on some men to manage their own affairs right, he con-
tented

tented himself with managing as well as he could those that were immediately within his own province; and with respect to these, even the censurers of this expedition admit, that no body could have managed them better.

The war with Spain still continuing in 1595, and it being evident that nothing distressed the enemy so much as the losses they met with in the Indies, a proposition was made to the queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts than had hitherto been attempted; and at the same time they offered to be at a great part of the expence themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest. The queen readily listened to this proposal, and furnished a stout squadron of ships of war, on board one of which, the *Garland*, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their whole force consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and on board of them were two thousand five hundred men. The fleet was detained some time after it was ready on the English coasts by the arts of the Spaniards, who receiving intelligence of its strength and destination, gave out that they were ready themselves to invade England, and to render this the more probable, actually sent four galleys to make a descent on Cornwall. This had the desired effect, for the queen and the nation being thereby alarmed, thought it by
no

no means adviseable to send so great a number of ships on so long a voyage at that critical juncture. At last this alarm blowing over, the fleet sailed in conjunction for destroying Nombre de Dios, a particular account of which will be given in the life of Sir John Hawkins, who died the day before Sir Francis made his desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico on November the thirteenth, in pursuance of a resolution taken by a council of war. This attempt was ended indeed with considerable loss to the Spaniards, yet with little advantage to the English, who, meeting with a stronger resistance and better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The admiral then steered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hache, which, a church and a single house excepted, he burnt to the ground. After this, destroying some other villages, he proceeded to Santa Martha, which he also burned. The like fate had Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refusing to ransom these places; and in them an inconsiderable booty was taken. On the twenty-ninth of December Sir Thomas Baskerville marched with seven hundred and fifty men towards Panama, but returned on the second of January, finding the design of reducing that place wholly impracticable: so that the whole of this expedition was a series of misfortunes. If they had gone at first to Porto Rico, they had done the queen's business and their own: if, when they had intelligence

of

of the Spanish succours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the Isthmus, in order to have executed their designs against Panama, before their forces had been weakened by that desperate attack, they might possibly have accomplished their first intention; but grasping at too many things spoiled all. A very strong sense of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a deep melancholy, which occasioned a bloody flux, the natural disease of the country, that brought him to his end. His body, according to the custom of the sea, was sunk very near the place where he first laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. Such was the end of this great man, having, according to some, lived fifty-five years, and according to others only fifty-one. His death was generally lamented by the whole nation, but more especially by those of his native place, who had great reasons to love him from the circumstances of his private life, as well as to esteem him in his public character. He had been elected burghers for the town of Bosciney in Cornwall, in the parliament held the twenty-seventh of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards for Plymouth in Devonshire, in the thirty-fifth of the same reign. Having hitherto spoken of his public actions, we shall now say something of his person and character.

He was low of stature, but well set, had a broad open chest, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a fresh chearful and engaging countenance: as navigation had
been

been his whole study, he was a perfect master in every branch of it, especially astronomy, and the application of it to the nautical art. His voyage round the world is an incontestable proof of his courage, capacity, patience, and public spirit; since he performed every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own private advantage: and it is apparent, that if Sir Francis Drake amassed a large fortune by continually exposing himself to labours and perils, which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the sake even of the greatest expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private spirit: on the contrary, his notions were free and noble; and the nation stands indebted to him for many advantages which she at present enjoys, in arms, navigation, and commerce.

It was the felicity of our admiral to live in the time of a princess, who always took care to distinguish merit. Sir Francis therefore was always her favourite; and when his countryman Sir Bernard Drake, also a seaman, whose arms Sir Francis had assumed, was so incensed as to give him a box on the ear; the queen was pleased to honour him with a new coat, viz. sable, a fess wavy between two pole-stars, argent; and for his crest, a ship on a globe under a ruff, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds, and over it this motto, AUXILIO DIVINO; underneath, SIC PARVUS MAGNA; in the rigging is hung up by the
heels

heels a wivern gules, which was the coat of Sir Bernard. Her majesty's kindness however did not reach beyond the grave, for she suffered his brother Thomas Drake to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which much diminished the advantages he otherwise would have received from his brother's fortune. This brother of his had accompanied him in his last expedition, as his brothers John and Joseph had done in his first voyages to the West-Indies, where they both died. The land estate, purchased by Sir Francis, was very considerable (for though on proper occasions he was extremely generous, yet he was also a good œconomist) devolved to his nephew Francis Drake, son to his brother, the aforesaid Thomas, who, in the succeeding reign, was created a baronet. In the possession of the lineal descendant of his family, viz. Sir Francis Henry Drake, baronet, is a bible to be seen, with an inscription indented on the edges, signifying, that it made the tour of the world with Sir Francis Drake, as also many other relicks preserved in the cabinets of the curious in memory of this famous person, as a staff made out of his ship, before it was broke up in that of Mr. Thoresby of Leeds. And to this day is preserved in Berkley castle, the bed and curtains, of green stuff, on which he lay during his whole voyage.



G. R.

WHEREAS Our trusty and well-beloved
EDWARD DILLY, of our city of London, Bookseller, hath, by his petition, humbly represented unto us, that he hath undertaken to print and publish a work called *The British Plutarch, or Biographical Entertainer*; -being a select collection of the lives at large of the most eminent men, natives of Great-Britain and Ireland, from the reign of king Henry the Eighth, to that of Our late Royal Grandfather, both inclusive: in the prosecution of which he hath been at great trouble and expence in procuring access to antient records, memoirs, papers, and other authentic intelligence: as well as engaging several gentlemen of learning and abilities, to compile from those materials, in such a stile and method, as to render that work more amusing and universally useful, than any thing of the kind that has hitherto made its appearance. And, being desirous of reaping the fruits of his said labour and expence, and enjoying the full profit and benefit that may arise from vending the above-mentioned valuable

able work, without any other person's interfering in his just property : he hath therefore most humbly prayed Us to grant him Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work. We do therefore, by these Presents, so far as may be agreeable to the statute in that case made and provided, grant unto him, the said EDWARD DILLY, his executors, administrators, and assigns, Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work, for the term of fourteen years ; strictly forbidding all Our subjects, within Our kingdoms and dominions, to reprint, abridge, or publish the same, either in the like, or any other volume, or volumes, whatsoever; or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute, any copies thereof reprinted beyond the seas, during the aforesaid term of fourteen years, without the consent and approbation of the said EDWARD DILLY, his heirs, executors, and assigns, under their hands and seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Wherefore the commissioners, and other officers of the customs, the master, wardens, and company of stationers, are to take notice, that due obedience may be rendered to Our will and pleasure herein declared.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, this 20th Day of January, 1762, in the second Year of Our reign.

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VOL. IV.



(L O N D O N)
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 For EDWARD DILLY, in the Poultry;
 MDCCLXII.







Lord Burleigh.

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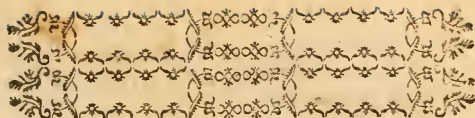
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T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM CECIL.

Extracted from an Ancient Manuscript.

WILLIAM, lord of Burleigh, was
born at Bourn, in the county of
Lincoln, on the thirteenth day of
September, 1521. His father,
Richard Cecil, of Burleigh, in the
county of Northampton, esquire, being prin-
cipal officer of the robes in the time of Henry
VIII. and in great favour with the king. His
mother's name was Jane Heckington, daugh-
ter and heiress of William Heckington, of
Bourn, in the county of Lincoln; by whom
VOL. IV. B came

priests, chaplains to O Neale, who was then in court ; and talking long with them in Latin, he fell into disputation with the priests ; wherein he shewed so great learning and wit, as he proved the poor priests to have neither ; who were so cast down that they had not a word to say, but flung away in chafe, no less discontented than ashamed to be foiled in such a place by a lad. It was told the king, that young Mr. Cecil had confuted both O Neal's chaplains. The king called for him, and, after long talk with him, being much delighted with his answers, the king willed his father to find out a suit for him : whereupon he became suitor for a reversion of the Custos Bre-vium Office in the Common Pleas ; which the king willingly granted.

After he had spent some time at the law, on the eighth of August, in the 33d year of Henry VIII. he took to wife Mary Cheeke, sister to Sir John Cheeke, knight, who lived with him not a year and a quarter ; by whom he had his first son Thomas. Afterwards, on the twenty-first of December, five years following, being twenty-four years old, he married Mildred Cooke, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, knight, a wise and virtuous lady, who lived with him many years after he came to be treasurer of England. She was excellently learned in the Greek, so that she translated a piece of Chrysostom into English. He had by her, Anne, Robert, and Elizabeth ; and Frances Cecil, a daughter, and William, and William, who all three died young.

In the first year of king Edward VI. the duke of Somerset, then lord-protector, hearing of Mr. Cecil, sent for him to be master of his requests ; and the same year he went with the duke to Muselborough-field, where he was like to have been slain, but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the canon, had it stricken off. In the second year of king Edward VI. he was committed to the Tower about the duke of Somerset's first calling in question ; where he remained a quarter of a year, and was delivered.

The duke of Somerset perceiving the king's great liking of Mr. Cecil, about the third year of the king's reign, preferred him to be secretary of state, and a counsellor to the king, being but twenty-five years old ; and, in the fifth year of Edward VI. he was made knight : a rare thing for so young a man to be called to such places of honour and estimation, wherein he continued till the king's death.

The two dukes of Northumberland and Somerset strove to win him. tempting him with great offers. He shewed duty to both, but would take gifts of neither ; but, after the king died, he was disgraced by the duke of Northumberland for disliking the purpose touching the lady Jane ; yet he carried the matter so temperately as he kept his conscience free, his truth to the crown, and himself from danger.

When queen Mary came in, she granted Sir William Cecil a general pardon; and, in choosing her counsellors, said, if he would change his religion, he should be her secretary and counsellor: to which purpose some wise men were underhand set to allure and discover his disposition; but, like himself, he wisely and christianly answered, he was taught and bound to serve God first, and next the queen; that she had been his so gracious lady as he would ever serve and pray for her in his heart; and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence as any of her loyal subjects; but hoped she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at large as a private man rather than to be her greatest counsellor. Yet the queen still used him very graciously, and forbore either to hear his enemies, who were many, or to disgrace himself; for, in the second year of her reign, he was sent to Brussels, with the lord Paget, to bring in cardinal Pole.

In the parliament time there was a matter in question for something the queen would have passed; wherein Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Pollard, and many others of value, especially western men, were opposite, Sir William Cecil being their speaker, having that day told a good tale for them. When the house rose, they came to him and said they would dine with him
that

that day. He answered they should be welcome, so they did not speak of any matters of parliament; which they promised; yet some began to break promise, for which he challenged them.

This meeting and speech was known to the counsel, and all the knights and gentlemen were sent for and committed. Sir William Cecil was also sent for; but he desired they would not do by him as by the rest, which he thought somewhat hard; that was, to commit them first and to hear them after; but prayed them first to hear him, and then to commit him if he were guilty. "You've spoken like a man of experience," quoth my lord Paget; and, upon hearing the circumstances, he cleared himself, and so escaped imprisonment and disgrace.

When queen Elizabeth began her reign, Sir William Cecil, for his truth and tried service to her, was worthily called and honourably advanced by her majesty to be her secretary and counsellor; and was first sworn of any counsellor she had, at Hatfield, where she lay at her first coming to her crown.

At the first parliament holden in the beginning of the queen's reign, great difficulties arose in reforming and altering religion, and for the better satisfaction of the state of parliament, by his lordship's advice, there was a conference had in Westminster church, by the old and new bishops and other learned men, upon

some questions and points devised principally by himself touching the exercise of religion; which was so politicly handled, and wisely governed, that such satisfaction was given, that the queen and parliament, with one consent, established the form of religion ever since practised.

By his politic advice, the coin, and monies of the realm, were brought to a standard of fineness from baseness, being then one of the richest coins of the world, to the great enriching of this realm and commonwealth; for he held a position, which undoubtedly is true, that the realm cannot be rich whose coin is poor or base.

In the second year of the queen he was sent into Scotland to treat of peace; which, chiefly by his wisdom, was effected, with some honorable conditions for the queen and realm. It was ever observed, as one notable virtue in his disposition, to be desirous to preserve peace in the land; which undoubtedly is the only blessing can fall upon a nation.

In the third year of the queen's reign, the tenth of January, he was made master of the wards, upon the death of Sir Thomas Parry.

In the twelfth year of her majesty's reign, the rebellion of the north began; wherein, himself being secretary alone, and thereby all dispatches passing his hands, he took such care, and gave such provident counsel, that matters were so quickly expedited, and politicly carried

ried, and the rebels suppressed without blood or danger, to the honour of the queen and weal of the realm.

But, in the time of this prosperous rising, the hearts of some did also rise against his fortune; who were more hot in envying him, than able to follow him; detracting his praises, discouraging his services, and plotting his danger; as on a time a book, passionately penned against the nobility, came to his hands, and was seen upon his table, by a great man; which book he had read with great dislike, noting many lies and faults of the writer: yet there was a formal tale told to the lords of the counsel, and divers other of the nobility, infering it to be done or procured by himself to disgrace the nobility. Whereupon such a fire was kindled against him among the lords, as a plot was laid to cut him off. He was thereupon called before the council without the queen's knowledge, and charged; which, though he sufficiently answered, yet was it resolved he should be sent to the Tower, and then they would find matter enough against him. Whereof he having advertisement, wrote to the queen; who commanded nothing should be done against him without her privy. So the fire was covered, but not quenched; for, not long after, a villain was hired to kill him, and set at the stairs foot to dispatch him as he came from the queen; but being warned of it, he went down another way and escaped; and, as he had some foes at

home, so he wanted not enemies abroad; for, another time, a popish villain was, by some seminaries, persuaded to kill him; and, being with him alone in his chamber, standing behind him leaning upon his chair, had not the power to perform his villainy, though, when he came in, he took his dagger ready in his hand to do it.

As he continued his care, so he grew in favour with his prince and liking of the people, and having twelve years served as secretary, he was by her majesty created baron of Burleigh, upon Shrove Sunday the twenty-fifth of February 1570; and in June 1572, he was made knight of the garter; and the fifteenth of July following, he was made lord high treasurer of England, upon the death of the lord marquís of Winchester.

He grew now to some greatness, carrying a reputation and rule in the commonwealth, so that it was thought nothing was done without him; so equally hearing, justly censuring, and carefully dispatching causes, that few suits were suffered to linger long before him, but were either ended by judgment, or ordered by agreement, using one singular course in hearing causes; that if he found them difficult, or rigorously to be censured, he would ever make motions for arbitration, and either by his authority or persuasion, agree them; so that he ended more causes in a term than were before in a twelvemonth, insomuch as all men had such an opinion of his justice and indifference,

that

that they never thought themselves satisfied nor their suits well ended, that either had not their cause brought to his hearing, or his letter in their behalf, which drew upon him multitudes of suits. For, besides all business in council, or other weighty causes, and such as were answered by word of mouth, there was not a day in a term wherein he received not threescore, fourscore, and an hundred petitions, which he commonly read that night, and gave every man an answer himself the next morning, as he went to the hall; wherein one thing was observed of his excellent memory, that reading those bills over-night, there was not one petitioner came to him the next morning, but so soon as he heard their names, he remembered their matter, and gave them his answer. He would also answer the poorest person by word of mouth, appointing times and places of purpose so long as he was able; and after he grew weak and could not go abroad, he devised a new way, taking order that poor suitors should send in their petitions sealed up, whereby the poorest man's bill came to him as soon as the richest: upon every petition he caused his answer to be written on the back, and subscribed it with his own name, or else they had his letter or other answer, as the cause required: by which charitable and honourable device there was none staid for answer, but were speedily dispatched.

Thus held he on his course like himself, prayed for by the poor, honoured by the rich,

fear'd by the bad, and lov'd by the good ; to his prince and country loyal, and to the subjects most pleasing, wondering at his great wisdom and gravity, and praising his justice and integrity ; most men honouring him with the title of father of the commonwealth ; and his diligent and studious course of life was such as caus'd all his friends to pity him, and his very servants to admire him ; he was never seen half an hour idle for twenty-four years together ; for if there were cause of business he was occupi'd till that were done ; if he had no business, he was reading or collecting ; if he rode abroad he had suitors ; when he came in he dispatch'd them ; when he went to bed and slept not, he was either meditating or reading ; and he us'd to say, he did penetrate farther into the depth of causes, and found out more resolutions in his bed than when he was up ; he left scarce time for sleep or meals, or leisure to go to bed ; yet so long as his business went forward, and his prince and country pleas'd, he thought his pains a pleasure, and all he could do too little ; so great was his care, and love to his prince and country.

The parliament, star-chamber, and other public places, there was not a sitting, but left some note of his wisdom, gravity, and justice ; all which his speeches and deeds so express'd, that when all men had spoken to the purpose, as was thought, most excellently, or in cases of difficulty most doubtfully, yet when he came
to

to speak, he so far exceeded, as his gravity, wisdom, and eloquence so weighed and reached to the depth, so far above the reach of the rest, as was no less admired than allowed of the hearers ; all things perfectly concluded and all doubts exactly cleared ; and yet which was observed a strange thing in him, that for all his long and public speeches, he was never seen to study a quarter of an hour, or to take notes, or torne books for any of his speeches ; his long experience and practice made him need no helps. And it was noted, that wheresoever he sat in place of justice, there wanted not numbers that came only to hear him speak ; which drew unto him so great estimation, as all men, even his very enemies, thought him to be the wisest and gravest counsellor of his age, the best sort extolling his worthiness, the rest fearing his justice and greatness. The queen never resolved any cause of estate without his counsel, nor seldom passed any private suit from herself, that was not first referred to his consideration, and had his approbation before it past.

As his estimation was worthily great in his own country, so he was greatly famous in all nations in Christendom, and other remote parts of the world. As on a time a great man of France, being in England, wrote a letter to the French king, saying, he was the wisest and gravest counsellor of Christendom, that in the court he was accounted *Pater Patriæ*, and among the common people, quasi *Rex* ;
for

for his knowledge in treaties was such, that when any ambassador came to treat with him, he would so far exceed the reach of their wisdoms, as they rather revered him, than stood in opposition to him in any argument. There was no form or manner of treaties that he had not seen and had ready in his head; neither was there ever any went beyond him in any point of treaty. Yet was he ever more ready to prevent, than our enemies to attempt; and more provident to secure us, than they were to offend us; insomuch as there was no enemy of England that feared not the Treasurer, wished his death, and practised to purchase it. There was no prince or potentate, our friends, that did not reverence him, send to him, and seem to hold his friendship in estimation. There were many demonstrations of the reputation many princes had of him; as when Mr. William Cecil, travelling in Italy, was brought before cardinal Farnese, a man of great authority, who finding Mr. Cecil to be the grandson of the high treasurer of England, he lodged him in his house, appointed divers gentlemen to attend him, and his horses to be at his commandment; speaking most reverently of his grandfather, and never left enquiring of the manner of his life, fashion, stature, speech, recreations, and such like; delighting to hear it, and talk of him, and at his departing gave him presents and money in his purse. The like did the duke of Florence to Mr. Edward Cecil, a younger brother,

brother, and, which was an extraordinary favour, the duke gave him leave to ride his own horse ; and at his departure gave him gifts of price.

By his place and greatness he had daily intelligence from many countries ; and besides foreign letters he received not so few as twenty or thirty other letters in a day, whereby he had sometimes good news and sometimes bad ; if it were good he would temperately speak of it, if ill he kept it to himself. He was never moved with passion in either, neither joyful at the best, nor daunted at the worst ; and it was noted in him, that though his body was weak, his courage never failed, as in times of the greatest danger he ever spoke most chearfully, and executed things most readily, when others seemed doubtful ; and when some talked fearfully of the greatness of our enemies, he would ever answer, they shall do no more than God will suffer them ; which argued his whole trust in God, and a courage in himself.

In causes depending before him in justice, he regarded neither friend or enemy ; but if he leaned any way, it was rather to the foe, least he should be taxed of partiality ; and he would very sharply reprehend his friends, relations, and servants, for bringing suits before him, when they were not upon good grounds, and would force them rather to compound than sue. In cases of justice, none could ever do him greater despight than to offer him any thing : he was known to refuse a buck, and
many

many pieces of plate at New-years-tide ; and to offer him money was to offend him so as they fared the worse, ever saying, I will take nothing of you, having a cause depending before me.

His careful course in the court of wards was most commendable, for he was always careful both of her majesty's profit and prerogative, and to maintain the privileges and authority of the court. Finding the revenue of the court to abate, he began to look into the cause, writing letters to all the foedaries of England, to look better to the queen's service, for the increasing of her revenue. And though no master of the wards ever rated male wards above one year's value, and females at two year's value, according to their lands found by office, his lordship increased males to a year and an half, and raised much the rates of females. And whereas other masters of the wards, before his lordship demised ward lands at the value found by office, and rated the same at one year's value, his lordship would suffer no lease to pass before the lands were surveyed by the foedaries, and rated the fines at a year and a half, according to the improved values: though he might have raised things to a higher rate if he had not respected her majesty's honour, and regarded the ease of the subject.

His lordship hated fraudulent conveyances to defeat the queen of wardship, and where he found the fault, he did sharply punish it. He would also severely punish contemners of the queen's process, commonly using these words,

words, *Melior est obedientia quam victima*. He ever endeavoured to commit wards to persons of sound religion, and preferred natural mothers before all others to the custody of their children, if they were not to be touched with any notable exception. He would often remember causes and orders past twenty or thirty years before, better than the counsellors, clerks, and often than the parties whom it concerned. At the arguing of any great causes, he not only observed and heard their arguments, but would also with great judgment plead and argue himself, and when he set down orders, he would ever deliver the reason of his order. His commandments were short, plain, and full, so as a man of very mean capacity, might both understand and effect them. He was sparing in commending any, and yet would praise some, but lightly; yet was the most ready to cherish the sufficient. He favoured not the granting of wards in the father's lifetime. He would never suffer lawyers to wrangle, but ever hold them to the point; which was a cause of great reverence and order in the court. He would fine sheriffs deeply if they were found negligent, and would never spare any indebted to the queen. Yet was it imagined he made infinite gain by such wards as he kept in his own hands; but if it be narrowly sifted, it will appear, that in all the time he was master of the wards, he reserved to his own use but three, whereof he had profit but of two; and when he granted a wardship, as he did great numbers, he never took

took benefit of above four in a year, which was in this sort. If either the mother, or the friends, wrote to him that they would give two or three hundred pounds to have the preferment of a wardship, they had it without indenting, bargaining, or examining the value, if it proved worth five times as much as they paid for it. At other times, peradventure once or twice in a year, a nobleman, lady, or gentleman that had a ward of him worth five hundred or a thousand pounds, would send him, some eight pounds, some an hundred angels, or a piece of plate at New-year's-day. And here is all the the profit that, one year with the other, he made of it, unless it were by a chance. The rest he gave freely to courtiers, to his friends, to his servants, to the mothers, or the wards themselves. It was found by the books of entries, that in two years and a half his lordship gave about two hundred wards, whereof a hundred and eighty fell to courtiers; though he was not bound to give any man a ward, without recompence to himself; yet people much diminished his deserts.

His lordship kept two houses, one at London, the other at Theobalds, though he was at charge, both at Burleigh and the court. At London he kept ordinarily in household, fourscore persons, besides, his lordship and such as attended him at the court, the charge amounting to thirty pounds a week, and the sum yearly to fifteen hundred and sixty pounds; and in the term times, or when his lordship lay

lay at London, his charge increased ten or twelve pounds a week. At Theobalds he kept continually his household lying at London, twenty-six or thirty persons, the charge being weekly twelve pounds : and also relieved there daily twenty or thirty poor people at the gate, and besides gave weekly in money by Mr. Neal, his lordship's chaplain, vicar of Chesthunt, twenty shillings to the poor there. The weekly charge in setting poor on work, as wooders, labourers, &c. came to ten pounds, and so his weekly charge at Theobalds, his household being at London, was twenty-two pounds ; and the yearly sum eleven hundred and forty-four pounds ; both summed together his yearly charge was twenty-seven hundred and four pounds. When his lordship was continually at the court, which you may imagine much increased at his lordship's coming home, for I have heard his officers affirm, that at his lordship's being at Theobalds, it cost him fourscore pounds in a week. The charge of his stable, not here mentioned, was yearly a thousand marks at the least. Besides which certain charge he bought great quantities of corn in times of dearth, to furnish markets about his own houses at under-prices, to pull down the price to relieve the poor. He gave also for releasing of prisoners in many of his latter years forty pounds, and fifty in a term ; and for twenty years together he gave yearly in beef, bread, and money, at Christmas, to the poor of Westminster, St. Martin's

Martin's, St. Clement's, and at Theobald's, thirty five pounds, and sometimes forty pounds per annum. He gave also yearly to twenty poor men lodging in the Savoy, twenty suits of apparel. He gave also for three years before he died, to poor prisoners, and to poor parishes, in money weekly forty-five shillings, so as his certain alms, besides extraordinaries, was cast up to be five hundred pounds yearly, one year with another.

With regard to the order and government of his house, the officers were so many, as are usually in the greatest men's houses. There were prayers every day said in his chapel at eleven of the clock, where his lordship and all his servants were present, and seldom or ever went to dinner without prayers; and so likewise at six of the clock, before supper; which course was observed by his steward in his lordship's absence. When his lordship was able to sit abroad, he kept an honourable table for noblemen and others to resort unto; but when age and infirmities grew on him, he was forced to keep his chamber, where he was void neither of company nor meat, having as many of his friends and children, as before he had strangers: his diet being then as chargeable weekly, as when he came abroad. His lordship's hall was ever well furnished with men served with meat, and kept in good order; for his steward kept a standing table for gentlemen, besides two other long tables many times twice set out, one for the clerk of
the

the kitchen, the other for yeomen. And whether his lordship were absent or present, all his men, both retainers and others, resorted continually to meat and meal, at their pleasure, which I have seldom seen in any house.

His lordship was served with men of quality and stability, for most of the principal gentlemen in England, sought to prefer their sons and heirs to his service ; insomuch as I have numbered in his house attending on the table, twenty gentlemen of his retainers, of one thousand pounds per annum a-piece, in possession and reversion ; and of his ordinary men as many, some worth a thousand pounds, some three, five, ten, nay twenty thousand pounds, daily attending his lordship's service.

His lordship's extraordinary charge in entertainment of the queen, was greater to him than to any of her subjects ; for he entertained her at his house twelve several times, which cost him two or three thousand pounds each, lying there at his lordship's charge, sometimes three weeks or a month. But his love to his sovereign, and joy to entertain her and her train, was so great, as he thought no trouble, care, nor cost, too much, and all too little, so it were bountifully performed, to her majesty's recreation, and the contentment of her train. Her majesty sometimes had strangers and ambassadors came to her at Theobalds, where she hath been seen in as great royalty, and served as bountifully and magnificently, as at any other time or place ; all at his lordship's charge,

charge, with rich shews, pleasant devices, and all manner of sports, that could be devised, to the great delight of her majesty, and her whole train, with great thanks from her, and as great commendation abroad.

He built three houses, one in London for necessity, another at Burliegh of computency, for the mansion of his barony, and another at Waltham, for his younger son; which at the first he meant but for a little pile; but after he came to entertain the queen so often there, he was forced to enlarge it, rather for the queen and her great train, and to set poor men to work, than for pomp or glory; for he ever said, it would be too big for the small living he could leave his son. The other two are but convenient, and no bigger than will serve for a nobleman, all of them perfected, convenient, and to better purpose for habitation, than many others built by great noblemen, being all beautiful, uniform, necessary, and well seated; which are great arguments of his wisdom and judgment. He greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobalds were perfected, most beautifully, and pleasantly, where one might walk two miles in the walks, before he came to the end. He also built an hospital at Stamford near his house of Burliegh, all of freestone, and gave one hundred pounds of lands to it, for maintenance of twelve poor men for ever, establishing many good ordinances and statutes, for the government thereof,

of, in hope to continue it to the benefit of the poor.

He gave also thirty pounds a year for ever, to St. John's college in Cambridge, where he was a scholar; he gave also some plate to remain to the house, for he entirely loved learning and learned men, whom he ever held in reverence and regard, ever using his credit and authority, to relieve and advance men of learning and desert, all which proved he was neither covetous or miserable. And for further manifestation of his honourable inclination, see but into his estate at the time of his death, there shall you find proved that I have alledged; for his land was never above four thousand pounds a year, beside the land he gave to the three young ladies, wherein he shewed his honourable kindness; for he bought part of my lord Oxford's lands, to give to my lord of Oxford's own daughters: his money was not above eleven thousand pounds, divided into many parts, whereof his eldest son had not one penny: his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds, divided into many parts, whereof a great quantity was given away in legacies: his household stuff was as mean as any nobleman's of reasonable quality, and this was the great wealth of so great a counsellor, living forty years together in his prince's favour, which infallibly doth prove, he was neither covetous to gain, nor miserable in his expences, though the vulgar sort may think his wealth greater, measuring his estate rather by that he might have,

have, than by what he had; but his temperate life, his wisdom, justice, integrity, and honest actions, do more lively and truly disprove his envious detractors, by his notorious and worthy deeds, than can be devised by any words or invention of the most eloquent writers.

There was never any man living in his place, did more respect and esteem the nobility than his lordship; and where he found any towardness in a nobleman, it would as much rejoice him as if he had been his own son, and would do all he could to bring him forward; yet would slander report he hindered men from rising; but how true it is wise men may judge, for it was in the queen to take whom she pleased, and not in a subject to prefer whom he listed.

But, above all things, great was his care for the relief and maintenance of the poor soldiers, which made the rich captain say he loved not a soldier. It is true, he loved not a bad captain that robbed the poor soldier; but he took great care and good order for the soldier. His lordship was the first devised to apparel them, and procured their weekly lendings to be paid by pole, not before used; for the captain was wont to receive the whole pay for all his soldiers, who were then neither so well paid nor pleased, as by this new course, every man to receive it himself; and the reason why his lordship disliked a bad captain, was when he gave not the soldier his due, who sometimes starved for want, to the loss of many a brave soul,

foul, and the hindrance of her majesty's service.

He was most patient in hearing, ready in dispatching, and mild in answering suitors. When they had his denial, it was given with such gentleness, it pleased them as well as his grant. If a cause were bad he would hear it with patience, and reform it with temperance ; if it were good, he would adjudge it so with good words ; the worst sort and the best were answered with mildness, being neither offended at the one nor partial in the other, insomuch as in thirty years together he was seldom seen moved with joy in prosperity, or sorrow in adversity ; his temper ever noted as one of his greatest virtues, until within three or four years before his death, when age, the mother of morosity, and continuance of sickness, together with multitude of business for his country, which not succeeding nor sorting to his desires, altered his natural disposition, and gave way to age's imperfections ; but his anger was neither sudden nor furious ; his words were but wind, no sooner spoken than forgotten, for he would presently speak fair again ; and if he had angrily spoken to any of his servants, he would immediately speak fair, and as it were seek to be friends with them ; and commonly he would soonest do for such as he had fallen out with.

When any attempts or services of importance were propounded, he would diligently consider of the probability and commodity of

success, which if he found good for the state, he was never quiet till they were expedited ; but if there were found any apparent doubt or danger, he was sparing of his counsel to put such forward ; he was slow in resolving, but speedy to expedite good resolutions ; for there was none more forward in any action which promised honour or wealth to his country ; yet would envy say, he hindered many services with his sparing ; as though all resolutions of service and charge passed not from the queen and council, as well as from him. But it was his misfortune to bear the blame of the worst, and others to have the praise of his service and pains ; yea, said some, but he might have persuaded the queen to do things roundly, and then had they succeeded happily. But to the wise it will appear, that he was neither able at all times to rule the queen or council, nor to direct them, and therefore not to be blamed for errors resolved by all, and not by himself only. And whosoever had seen his intolerable pains, would confess he had little reason to draw all business to himself, as was said of him ; and though all, or most part, of the business of state, passed his hands for a long time together, yet he sought it not ; for it was a thing he ever complained of, to have so many things thrown upon him ; he was commanded to many things he was loth to do, and would have refused, but for offending. How could it then be his seeking ? If such as said so, or thought so, had seen his incessant

incessant toil and continual care, they would have rather pitied him, than think that any reasonable man, could desire such a laborious life.

There wanted not envy and spight, the companions of prosperity, to detract, and, as far as they could, to blemish the brightness of his virtues, though the chief ground of men's grudgings, were the originals of his praises; for when courtiers and others had suits to her majesty, which she ever referred to his consideration, he finding them neither reasonable nor lawful, would wish them to take honest and lawful suits, and then he would do his best to further them, as he did many; but otherwise he would plainly tell them, the queen might do what she pleased, but he would never recommend their suit: as some would sue for monopolies, some for concealments, some for innovations against law; all which he protested against, terming them cankers of the commonwealth; others to take leases and turn out the queen's ancient tenants, others to have such of the queen's lands as were not fit to pass from the crown, and many such like; which when he disliked or rejected, and that they had not even what they listed, then they railed on him, though he had done them never so many pleasures before.

He could never like or allow to put out any of the queen's poor tenants; he would never spare any man for the queen's debts, saying they deserved no favour; for their detaining

the queen's money made her ask more of her subjects; whereby her majesty was deceived, and the subject abused and oppressed. His care and course in getting in the queen's debts was such, as there was never so much brought in, as since he came in place. He would never pay a penny of the queen's money without her warrant, nor ever borrowed or took any money out of the exchequer for his own use, as many treasurers have done : neither did he owe the queen a penny when he died. He ever greatly commended the study of the common law, above all other learning, saying, that if he should begin again, he would follow that study. When he found any obstinately bent to take advantage in extremity of law, he would wish not to fall into such a tyrant's hands, telling them to remember the saying of the scripture, to do as they would be done unto. He was so careful in the administration of justice, as many times he favoured the subject in causes of the prince; as when one Mr. Throgmorton had a case in the exchequer, which was hardly recovered for the queen upon a nice point, he would not suffer the judgment to be entered, but with this condition, to enter the reasons, and that it was a case of the queen's prerogative, and not of law.

He did never raise his own rents, nor displace his tenants, but as the rents went when he bought the lands, so the tenants still held them; and I know some of his tenants paid
him

him but twenty pounds per annum, for a thing worth two hundred, which he enjoyed during his lordship's life.

His care was not least, in preferring learned and good men to the queen, to be judges and officers; for he would often say, that honest counsellors and good judges and officers in courts of justice, were the pillars of the state, and that the queen and the realm were happy in this age, to have so many.

He would often say, he thought there was never so wise a woman born, for all respects, as queen Elizabeth; for she spake and understood all languages, knew all estates and dispositions of all princes; and so expert in her own, as no counsellor she had could tell her that she knew not. She had so rare gifts, as when her council had said all they could, she would find out a wise council beyond all theirs, and that she shewed her wisdom and care of her country; for there was never any great consultation, but she would be present herself, to her great profit and praise.

He was desirous to prefer good and learned men to be bishops, and ministers, affirming it to be the only foundation of the good and peaceable estate of a commonwealth, saying, that where the people were well taught, the king had ever good obedience of his subjects; and where there wanted a good ministry, there were ever bad people; for they that knew not how to serve God, would never obey the king. He would say there could be no firm

nor settled course in religion, without order and government; for without a head there could be no body: and, if all were heads, there should be no bodies to set the heads upon: all must not be alike; some must rule, some obey; and all do their duties to God and the church, like good pastors and teachers in every function. He held there could be no government where there was division; and, that state could never be in safety, where there was toleration of two religions; for there is no enmity so great as that for religion, and they that differ in the service of God, can never agree in the service of their country.

His piety and devotion was such, that he never failed to serve his God before he served his country; for he duly observed his exercise of prayer, morning and evening, all the time he was secretary, never failing to be at the chapel in the queen's house every morning, so long as he could go; and afterwards, by his infirmity, not able to go abroad, he used, every morning and evening, to have a cushion laid by his bed-side, where he prayed on his knees, without fail, what haste or business soever he had: but, when he could kneel no more, he had then his book in his bed; and when himself could not so well hold his book, he had one to read to him; so as, one way or other, he failed not his prayers.

He would never miss sermon if he were able but to be carried out, though to his great pain and danger, nor ever failed the communion-day

day every first day in the month ; and commonly, in his latter time, there was never a Sunday when he had been at a sermon, but he gave twenty shillings to his chaplain, to be bestowed on the poor, besides all his other daily alms, which were great. Besides his own devotion, his care was like for his servants ; for, if he found any negligent or absent from prayers, as many times he would purposely enquire, he would more sharply reprehend them for that than for any thing.

As he was, by nature, very kind and courteous, so was he to his friends affable and temperately kind ; ready to do them good when he might do it of himself, without prejudice to others, and that not frequently ; for, where he saw any presume of his favour, he was sure to have the less : and this was ever found in him, that, though he had been never so familiar or merry with any of his friends, if presently they had moved a suit to him, he would look more strangely on them, and give but a cold answer, till he saw it were fit for them to have and him to grant ; at last they had it, sometimes hardly, and sometimes with good words ; yet ever so as they had small cause to presume of his familiarity or courteous speech ; insomuch as they that were most familiar with him, were most afraid to move him in any suits ; which rule he observed to uphold his integrity.

To his enemies he was rather remiss than rigorous, being often used to say, “ I know I

have some enemies who do malice me, but so do not I them ; God forgive them, and I thank God I never went to bed out of charity with any man."

He was of the sweetest, kind, and most tractable nature ; gentle and courteous in speech ; sweet in countenance ; and pleasingly sociable with such as he conversed : his kindness most expressed to his children, to whom there was never man more loving ; and yet with such wise moderation, that he was inwardly more kind than outwardly fond of them ; and which is ever a mark of a good nature, if he could get his table set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom. It was exceeding pleasure to hear what sport he would make with them, and how aptly and merrily he would talk with them, with such pretty questions, and witty allurements, as much delighted himself, the children, and the hearers. Thus he was happy in most worldly things, but most happy in his children and children's children. He had his own children, grandchildren, and great-grand-children ordinarily at his table, setting about him like the olive-branches ; and there was no degree in blood, or consanguinity, but was to be found sitting at his table ; wherein he would many times rejoice as in one of God's great blessings. There were, proceeding from his own body, and his mother might see the fifth descent from herself. A happy mother, and a blessed son ; for, as the
scripture

scripture faith, he had seen his children's children, and peace upon the land.

His temperate mind ever tempered all his actions in such moderate carriage of his great fortune, that he liked and desired private things, hating all pomp and glorious shows; for, if he might ride privately in his garden upon his little moile, or lie a day or two at his little lodge at Theobald's, retired from business, or too much company, he thought it his greatest greatness, and only happiness; or, if he could get any of his old acquaintance who could discourse of their youth, or of things past in old time, it was notable to hear what merry stories he would tell. It was said of him, that he could call to mind any thing he had done, seen, or read; for, when officers and learned men often talked with him, either in learning or causes past, he would so readily remember and repeat, either, that he heard or read twenty, yea forty years before, as caused many to wonder at his great memory, having so infinite other things in his head.

He was of spare and temperate diet, eating never but of two or three dishes, drinking never above thrice at a meal, and very seldom wine. He would many times forbear suppers if he found his stomach offended; and, above all things, what business soever was in his head, it was never perceived at his table, where he would be so merry as one would imagine he had nothing else to do; directing his speech to all men according to their quali-

ties and capacities, as he raised mirth out of all men's speeches, augmenting it with his own; whereby he wanted no company so long as he was able to keep company. His speeches, though they were merry, yet so full of wisdom, as many came rather to hear his speeches than to eat his meat; for, even in his ordinary talk, he uttered so many notable things, as one might learn more in one hour's hearing him than a month's reading. He loved to be merry himself, and liked and commended all others that were of pleasant natures, being discreet with all.

His eloquence was his plainness in familiar common words, without affectation; wherein it was observed in him, a thing strange, that, in so plain terms as commonly he used, his eloquence was so excellent, as, that he spake was impossible to be delivered more rhetorically, clearly and significantly; easy to be understood and remembred; and yet, beyond the eloquence of others, thought to be most eloquent.

His recreation was chiefly in his books, where, if he had time, he was more delighted than others with play at cards; or, if he could get a learned man to talk withal, he was much pleased. Books were so pleasing to him, as, when he got liberty to go unto his house to take air, if he found a book worth the opening, he would rather lose his riding than his reading; and yet riding in his garden walks, upon his little moile, was his greatest disport:

disport : but so soon as he came in he fell to his reading again, or else to dispatching business ; and this was all his recreation and course of life. He seldom or never played at any game, for he could play at none. He would sometimes look a while on shooters or bowlers as he rid abroad. He was delighted to talk and be merry with his friends only at meals, for he had no more leisure ; but he never had any favourites, as they are termed, nor any inward companion, as great men commonly have ; neither made he any man of his council, nor any ever knew his secrets ; some noting it a fault, but most thinking it a praise of his wisdom ; for, by trusting none with his secrets, none could reveal them ; nor opening himself to none, there was none could look far into him ; yet was there some two or three who frequented his company at meals, more than the rest, with whom he would be most familiar and merry, using them exceeding kindly ; yet they neither knew his secrets, nor could, by their credit or familiarity with him, draw him to do any thing in furthering or hindrance of any suit, or any person, if their cause deserved it not.

His best record was his experience, memory, and notable invention, even to as high perfection as could be in any man. In what learning was he ignorant ? What office was there wherein he had not experience ? What court of justice whereof he knew not the course ? What province, county, city,

or notable place in England, he could not describe? Nay, What nobleman, or gentleman, and their dwellings, matches, and pedigrees, did he not know? and could many times describe every particular place, person, river, haven, park, and lordship, near any gentleman, better than himself that dwelt there. In what service, abroad or at home, was he ignorant, or not perfectly practised? He knew the state of all countries, the nature of all princes, their friends, foes, alliances, matches, and pedigrees. He was privy to their policies and practises, and often prevented their purposes. In weighty affairs of council he was most expert; in policy of peace, in directions of war, in provisions for soldiers and ships, in proceedings of parliament, in all courts of justice, in public speeches, or private conference.

He took great pains and delight in pedigrees, wherein he had great knowledge, and wrote whole books of them with his own hand; which greatly augmented his knowledge both abroad and at home. He observed all daily accidents, writing whatsoever passed; which he continued from the time he was nineteen years old even till he died; and, if his notes and writings were well perused and reconciled, there would be found notable matter for a good writer to ground an excellent story of this time.

His death was not sudden, nor his pain in sickness great; for he continued languishing

two or three months, yet went abroad to take air in his coach all that time; retiring himself from the court, sometimes to his house at Theobald's, and sometimes at London. His greatest infirmity appearing, was the weakness of his stomach. It was also thought his mind was troubled that he could not work a peace for his country, which he earnestly laboured and desired of any thing, seeking to leave it as he had long kept it. He contemned this life, and expected the next; for there was no earthly thing wherein he took comfort, but in contemplation, reading, or hearing the Scriptures, Psalms, and Prayers.

About ten or twelve days before he died, he grew weak, and so driven to keep his bed, complaining only of a pain in his breast; which was thought to be the humour of the gout, wherewith he was so long possessed, falling to that place, without any ague, fever, or sign of distemper; and that pain not great nor continual, but by fits; and so continued till within one night before his death. At six o'clock at night, the physicians finding no distemper in his pulse or body, but assuring his life, affirming that it was impossible he should be heart-sick that had so good temper, and so perfect pulse and senses; yet at seven o'clock following, he fell into a convulsion like to the shaking of a cold ague. "Now," quoth he, "the Lord be praised, the time is come;" and, calling for his children, blessed them and took his leave, commanding them to serve and
fear

fear God, and love one another. He also prayed for the queen, that she might live long and die in peace.

Then he called for Thomas Bellot, his steward, one of his executors, and delivered him his will, saying, "I have ever found thee true to me, and I now trust thee with all." Who, like a goodly honest man, prayed his lordship, as he had lived religiously, so now to remember his Saviour Christ, by whose blood he was to have forgiveness of his sins; with many the like speeches used by his chaplains: to whom he answered, It was done already, for he was assured God had forgiven his sins, and would save his soul. Then he called his chaplains, with all the company, to say prayers for him, himself saying after them all the time they prayed.

He continued languishing thus most patiently, still having memory perfect, till twelve o'clock; lying praying to himself, saying the Lord's Prayer in Latin; whereupon some inferred he was popish; but God knoweth the contrary; for it was not strange to hear him pray in Latin, because he never read any books or prayers but in Latin, French, or Italian, very seldom in English. At twelve o'clock his speech began to fail him: then said he, "O Lord have mercy on me, my speech faileth me:" and so languishing till four o'clock, sometimes wanting, and sometimes having speech, he often said, O what a heart is this that will not let me die! Come, Lord Jesu;

Jesu; one drop of death, Lord Jesu! and so lay praying to himself, as we might hear him speak softly: in which extremity you must imagine, the wailing of his children, friends, and servants, being twenty in the chamber; every one praying and devising what to give him, to hold life in him, if it were possible: but when they strived to give him any thing, he came to himself, saying, "O ye torment me, for God's sake let me die quietly." Then laying still, the standers by might hear him say softly to himself, "Lord receive my spirit; Lord have mercy upon me:" which were the last words he was heard to speak. So he continued speechless and senseless, laying still as it were in a sleep without pain, till it was eight o'clock in the morning, and then died: but, though many watched to see when he should die, he lay looking so sweetly, and went away so mildly, as in a sleep, that it could scarce be perceived when the breath went out of his body.

Now might one see all the world mourning; the queen, for an old and true servant; the council, for a wise and grave counsellor; the court, for their honourable benefactor; his country, and commonwealth, trembling as it were at one blow, to have their head stricken off; the people, widows, and wards, lamenting to lose their protector; religion, her patron; justice, her true minister; and peace, her upholder. His children bewailing the loss of such a father, his friends of such a friend,

friend, and his servants of such a master; all men rather bewailing his loss, than hoping ever to find such another. Yea, his very enemies, who in his life-time could not abide him, did now both sorrow for his death and wish him alive again.

He was the oldest, the gravest, and greatest statesman of Christendom; for there was, before his death, never a counsellor left alive in Europe that were counsellors when he was first made.

He died on the fourth of August, 1598; and, if he had lived but till the thirteenth of September following, he should have been threescore and seventeen years old; whereof he lacked but a month and five or six days.

He was rather well proportioned than tall, being of the middle size, very straight and upright of body and legs, and, until age and his infirmity of the gout surpris'd him, very active and nimble of body. He was of visage very well favoured, and of an excellent complexion; insomuch as, even in his latter days, when he was well and warm, or had new dined or supped, he had as good colour in his face as most fair women. His state of body neither fat nor lean, but well fleshed. His hair and beard were all white, which heretofore, as it seemed, was of a brown colour; his beard of a reasonable length, rather well proportioned than too long or too big; fair, white, and comely; and, all parts respected together, I think there were few that knew him

him but will say, he was one of the sweetest and most well favoured, well mannered old men that hath been seen.

From what hath been said, it is left to the reader's judgment, Whether England ever produced a more able statesman, or greater patriot? And yet, in those times (such is the fate of ministers in power) there were some who, from their own ambitious designs, envied him the favour of his royal mistress; which he acquired by his profound knowledge, inviolable integrity, and superior merits.



M E M O I R S

O F

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, secretary of state in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was descended of an antient and good family, and educated in the university of Cambridge; whence he travelled into foreign countries, whither he retired likewise during the reign of queen Mary, on account of religion.

In the year 1570, he was sent ambassador to France, where he served queen Elizabeth with great fidelity and address; but, by his vast expences in procuring intelligence in that critical period, involved himself so deeply in debt, that he was obliged to solicit for his leave to return home; which he at last obtained in April, 1572. His eminent abilities raised him to the post of secretary of state in January following. In 1581, he was again sent ambassador into France; and, in 1583, into Scotland, in order to advise king James VI. not to suffer himself to be misled by evil counsellors, to the prejudice of both kingdoms; and was received by that king with great



S^r Francis Walsingham. *Tringham Sculp*

great respect, though esteemed by his majesty no real friend, either to himself or his mother, Mary, queen of Scots.

In 1586, he founded a divinity-lecture in the university of Oxford ; the reader of which was to discourse on the fundamentals of religion and the holy scriptures, by way of common-place, that the controversies arising thence might be more particularly discussed. The same year, by his peculiar sagacity and management, he unravelled the whole plot of Babington, and others, against the life of the queen.

Soon after this, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the trial of the queen of Scots, having before opposed the advice of the earl of Leicester, who was inclined to dispatch her by poison, and had privately sent a court-divine to secretary Walsingham, to persuade him to consent ; but the latter persisted in his opinion, that such a method of proceeding was not only unjust, but likewise dangerous and dishonourable to their royal mistress. However, after the queen of Scots was condemned, and the warrant signed, on the first of February, 1586-7, for her execution, he, with Davison, the other secretary of state, was ordered by queen Elizabeth to write to Sir Amias Powlet, and Sir Drue Drury, in whose custody queen Mary was, to make her secretly away ; but those two gentlemen thought proper to decline so odious an office.

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In 1587, the king of Spain having made vast preparations, which surprised and kept all Europe in suspense, not knowing on what nation the storm would break, Walsingham employed his utmost endeavours for the discovery of this important secret; and accordingly procured intelligence from Madrid, that the king had informed his council of his having sent an express to Rome, with a letter from his own hand to the pope, acquainting him with the true design of his preparations, and begging his blessing upon it; which, for some reasons, he could not disclose to them till the return of the courier. The secret being thus lodged with the pope, Walsingham, by the means of a Venetian priest retained at Rome as a spy, got a copy of the original letter, which was stolen out of the pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the key out of the pope's pocket while he slept.

After this, by his dextrous management, he caused the Spaniards bills to be protested at Genoa, which should have supplied them with money for their extraordinary preparations; and, by this means, he happily retarded this formidable invasion for a whole year.

However, after all his eminent services to his country, this great man gave a remarkable proof at his death (which happened on the sixth of April, 1590,) how far he preferred the public to his own interest; for, though, besides his post of secretary of state, he was
chancellor

chancellor to the dutchy of Lancaster, and of the garter; yet he died so poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him by night in St. Paul's church, lest his body should be arrested for debt.

He left only one daughter, famous for having three husbands of the greatest distinction: first, Sir Philip Sidney; secondly, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex; and, lastly, Richard Bourk, earl of Clanrickard, and afterwards earl of St. Albans.

He was, at first, a favourer of the puritan party; to whom he offered, in 1583, in the queen's name, that, provided they would conform in other points, the three ceremonies, of kneeling at the communion, wearing the surplice, and the cross in baptism, should be expunged out of the Common-Prayer. But they replying to these concessions, in the language of Moses, That they would not leave so much as a hoof behind; meaning that they would have the church-liturgy wholly laid aside, and not be obliged to the performance of any office in it; so unexpected an answer lost them, in a great measure, Walsingham's affection.

He was undoubtedly one of the most refined politicians, and most penetrating statesmen, that ever any age produced. He had an admirable talent both in discovering and managing the secret recesses of human nature: he had his spies in most courts of Christendom,
and

and allowed them a liberal maintainance ; for his grand maxim was, That knowledge is never too dear.

He spent his whole time and faculties in the service of the queen and her kingdoms : on which account her majesty was heard to say, That, in diligence and sagacity, he exceeded her expectation.

He is thought to have had a principal hand in laying the foundation of the wars in France and Flanders ; and is said, upon his return from his embassy in France, when the queen expressed her apprehension of the Spanish designs against that kingdom, to have answered, “ Madam, be content, and fear not. The Spaniard hath a great appetite, and an excellent digestion ; but I have fitted him with a bone for these twenty years, that your majesty shall have no cause to dread him, provided, that, if the fire chance to slack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and cast in some of your fuel, which will revive the flame.”

He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own, and even the queen’s, presence very familiarly ; but took care to have them carefully watched. His spies constantly attended on particular men for three years together ; and, lest they should not keep the secret, he dispatched them into foreign parts, taking in new ones in their room. His training of Parry, who designed the murder of the queen ; the admitting him,
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under the pretence of discovering the plot, to her majesty's presence; and then letting him go where he would, only on the security of a centinel set over him; was an instance of reach and hazard beyond common apprehension.

The queen of Scots letters were all carried to him by her own servant, whom she trusted, and were decyphered for him by one Philips, and sealed up again by one Gregory; so that neither that queen, nor any of her correspondents, ever perceived, either the seals defaced, or letters delayed. *Video taceo*, was his saying before it was his mistress's motto.

He could as well fit the humour of king James of Scotland with passages out of Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, or Tacitus, as he could that of Henry, king of France, with Rabelais's Conceits, or the Hollander with mechanic discourses. He served himself of the court factions as the queen did, neither advancing the one nor depressing the other. He was familiar with Cecil, allied to Leicester, and an oracle to Radcliffe, earl of Suffex.

His conversation was insinuating and yet reserved. He saw every man, and none saw him. "His spirit," says Mr. Lloyd, "was as public as his parts; yet as debonaire as he was prudent; and as obliging to the softer but predominant parts of the world, as he was serviceable to the more severe; and no less dextrous to work on humours, than to convince reason. He would say, he must observe the joints and textures of affairs; and so
could

could do more with a story than others could with an harangue. He always surprized business, and preferred motions in the heat of other diversions; and, if he must debate it, he would hear all, and with the advantage of foregoing speeches, that either cautioned or confirmed his resolutions, he carried all before him in conclusion, without a reply. To him men's faces spoke as much as their tongues, and their countenances were indexes of their hearts. He would so beset men with questions, and draw them on, that they discovered themselves, whether they answered or were silent.

“ He maintained fifty-three agents and eighteen spies in foreign courts; and, for two pistoles an order, had all the private papers in Europe. Few letters escaped his hands; and he could read their contents without touching the seals.

“ Religion was the interest of his country, in his judgment, and of his soul; therefore he maintained it as sincerely as he loved it. It had his head, his purse, and his heart. He laid the great foundation of the protestant constitution, as to its policy, and the main-plot against the popish, as to its ruin.”



J. P. Goussier sculp
Devereux Earl of Essex



THE LIFE OF

ROBERT DEVEREUX.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, earl of Essex, a gallant soldier, and great favourite, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was son to Walter, earl of Essex, and Lettice, daughter to sir Francis Knolles, who was related to queen Elizabeth. He was born on the tenth of November, 1567, at Netherwood, his father's seat, in Herefordshire, when that noble person had attained no higher title than that of viscount Hereford.

In his tender years, it is reported, there did not appear any signs of an extraordinary genius in him; and one who was long in his service, and could not but be well acquainted with the secrets of the family, assures us, that his father died but with a very cold conceit of his abilities; which, some thought, proceeded from his great affection for his younger son, Walter Devereux, who, it seems, had quicker and more livelier parts in his childhood. However, when he breathed his last in Ireland, he recommended this son of his, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex; and to the care of William Cecil, lord Burleigh, whom he appointed his guardian.

Mr. Waterhouse, then secretary for Ireland, a person equally favoured by his father and Sir Henry Sidney, lord-deputy of Ireland, had the immediate direction of his person and estate, which, though not a little injured by his father's public spirit, was, however, very considerable; and the regard shewn for his concerns, by the most powerful persons at court, was so remarkable, that Mr. Waterhouse made no difficulty of affirming, there was not, at that time, any man so strong in friends as the little earl of Essex.

His application on the behalf of the young earl, that he might be preserved in the possession of those honours which his father had enjoyed in Wales, and which were attended with power and influence rather than profit, had better fortune through the assistance of the earl of Sussex, who easily procured from the queen this mark of favour for a tender youth, whose father had deserved so well.

In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was sent to the university of Cambridge by the lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity-college, under the care of Dr. Whitgift, then master, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He was educated there with much strictness, and applied himself to learning with great diligence; so that, his quality considered, there were few young men of his standing more distinguished, either for solidity of judgment, or for an easy and eloquent manner of expressing their sentiments.

Some bold writers have asserted, that, as Dr. Whitgift rose in his preferments, he sunk in the esteem of his pupil, who, as they would have us believe, conceived an early dislike to bishops; but such as knew the world well in these days, and had the fairest opportunities of knowing the earl, assert the contrary, and that he continued always to treat the archbishop as his particular friend, and to respect him as his parent.

In 1582, having taken the degree of master of arts, he soon after left Cambridge, and retired to his own house at Lambſie, in South-Wales, where he spent some time in privacy and retirement; and was so far from having any thing of the eagerness or impetuosity natural to youth, that, instead of being displeased, he became enamoured of his rural retreat; inſomuch that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it.

His first appearance at court, at least as a candidate for royal favour, was in the seventeenth year of his age: however, when he came thither, it is certain, he could not have hoped, or even wished, a better reception. He brought with him, amongst other strong recommendations, a fine person, an agreeable behaviour, and an affability which procured him many friends, besides the rare qualities of true piety, unaffected zeal for the public welfare, and a warmth and sincerity in his friendships which entitled him to universal esteem. He, by degrees, so far overcame that

reluctance which he is said to have shewn, to use the assistance of the powerful earl of Leicester, that, towards the close of the year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the nobility, to Holland; where we find him the next year in the field, with the title of general of the horse; and, in this quality, he gave the highest proofs of personal courage, in the battle of Zutphen, on the twenty-second of September, 1586, and, for his gallant behaviour upon this occasion, the earl of Leicester conferred upon him the honour of a knight-banneret in his camp.

On his return to England, it very quickly appeared, that the queen not only approved, but was desirous also of rewarding, his services; and his step-father, the earl of Leicester, being advanced to the office of lord-steward of her majesty's household, she, on the twenty-third of December, 1587, made the earl of Essex master of the horse in his room.

In the succeeding year, he continued to rise; for, when her majesty thought fit to assemble the army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom, in case the Spaniards had landed, and gave the command of it, under herself, to the earl of Leicester, she created the earl of Essex general of the horse: so that, from this time, he was considered as the favourite declared; and, if there was any mark yet wanting to fix the people's opinion in that respect, it was shewn, by the queen's conferring

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on him, shortly after, the most noble order of the garter.

We need not wonder that so quick an elevation, and to so great an height, should somewhat affect the judgment of so young a man; and therefore there will not appear any thing strange in the eagerness he is said to have shewn in disputing the queen's favour with Sir Charles Blount; who, in process of time, became lord Montjoy and earl of Devonshire; which, however, cost him some blood; for that brave man, taking distaste of somewhat the earl said of a favour bestowed upon him by the queen, challenged him, and, in Marybone-park, after a short dispute, wounded Essex in the knee; with which the queen, who did not love to be controuled in her actions, was so far from being displeased, that she swore a round oath, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, otherwise there would be no ruling him. However, she reconciled the rivals; and it will remain an honour to both their memories, that, professing themselves friends, they remained such so long as they lived together.

In the beginning of the year 1589, Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, had undertaken an expedition for restoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal; which the earl beheld as an action too glorious for others to perform, while he was a spectator only. He followed the fleet and army therefore to Spain, and, having joined them at Corunna,

profecuted the rest of the expedition with great vigilance and valour; which, however, was not attended with much success, at the same time that it exposed him to the queen's displeasure.

At his return, however, he soon recovered her majesty's good graces; nor was it long before this was testified to the world, by his obtaining new marks of favour, in grants of a very considerable value; a circumstance in which his credit with the queen seemed much superior to that of all her other favourites.

He had now lost the support of his step-father the earl of Leicester, who died the preceding year; and who, though he was supposed to act the politician in preferring him to the queen's favour, (if, indeed, that was at all his work,) yet shewed the sincerity of his affection to him by several clauses in his will: notwithstanding which loss, he kept his ground at court; and, by caressing Mr. Cartwright and others, looked upon as puritans, seemed to affect becoming the head of that party, which adhered to the earl of Leicester while living.

About this time he ran a new hazard of the queen's favour, by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconsiderate, match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney; which her majesty apprehended to be, in some measure, derogatory to the honour of the house
of

of Essex; and, though, for the present, this business was passed by, yet it is thought that it was not so soon forgot.

In 1591, Henry IV. of France, having demanded fresh assistance from the queen, tho' he had already a body of her troops in his service, she was pleased to send the earl of Essex, with four thousand men, a small train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy; where it was proposed that he should join the French army, in order to undertake the siege of Rouen. The French king, however, either through want of power, the distraction of his affairs, or some other cause, neglected to perform his promise, notwithstanding that Essex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that monarch's request, in order to have concerted measures for giving the queen satisfaction.

Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little consequence, Essex, to keep up the spirits of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them:—A circumstance with which the queen was much offended. He likewise made excursions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen; and the earl, exposing his person very freely in these skirmishes, came off indeed unhurt himself, but lost there his only brother, Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being two years younger than the earl.

He returned some time after, to give an account of the state of things to the queen; and

then came back to his charge ; the siege of Rouen being formed, and the French king expressing a great desire to become master of it.

This winter service harrassing the troops exceedingly, provoked Essex not a little, who solicited king Henry for leave to proceed in his manner, promising to make a breach with his own artillery, and then to storm the place with the English troops ; which the king, however, refused, as being not at all desirous of having that rich place taken and plundered by the English in his sight.

Essex, still more displeased at this, and resolved not to continue in a place where no reputation was to be got, first challenged the governor of Rouen, Mr. Villars ; and, upon his refusing to fight, left the command of the English troops to sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience ; and then embarked for England, where his presence was become very necessary, his enemies having represented his behaviour in a very different light to the queen his mistress.

At this time he was exceedingly courted by very different sorts of people ; for many of the young nobility, who were desirous of entering into the world under the patronage of some eminent person, preferred the earl ; as well on account of his great affability to his followers, as because of his known interest with the queen. All the military men, that were not of very old standing, looked upon him as their chief, and one from whose favour
they

they were to derive preferment. The puritan ministers also, and their dependants, considered him as the successor to the earl of Leicester, and, consequently, as their protector. One need not wonder, therefore, that, having such power, he had so many enemies; and, that these should gain advantages over him in his absence: but, upon his return, he triumphed for the most part; and the queen, who looked upon herself as tied to him by former acts of kindness, seldom refused him any new marks of favour for which he was importunate in his demands.

We find him present in the parliament which began at Westminster, on the nineteenth of February, 1592-3; in which session, chiefly through his interest, Sir Thomas Perrot, who had married his sister, was restored in blood; which had been corrupted by the attainder of Sir John Perrot, his father, who had been lord-deputy of Ireland: and in this session it was that the house of peers paid a very extraordinary compliment to the earl of Essex. The queen also, who had given him so many marks of her favour, added to them a new honour; which was, at the same time, a very high testimony of her confidence, by causing him to be sworn one of the members of her privy-council.

He met, however, in this, and in the succeeding years, with various causes of chagrin; partly from the loftiness of his own temper,

and partly from the artifices of those who envied his greatness.

A dangerous and treasonable book, written abroad by a jesuit, was published under the name of Doleman, with intention to create dissention in England about succession to the crown. This book, as the whole design of it was most villainous, so, from a superior spirit of malice, it was dedicated to the earl of Essex, on purpose to create him trouble; in which it had its effect.

But what chiefly grieved and broke his spirits, was, his perceiving, that, though he could, in most suits, prevail for himself, yet he was able to do little or nothing for his friends; as particularly appeared in the case of Sir Francis Bacon: which, though the earl bore with some impatience, yet it gave him an opportunity of shewing the greatness of his mind, by giving that gentleman a small estate in land, which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes.

Indeed, the earl of Essex was never wanting, upon any occasion, to his friends, as many of the writers of those times agree, and of which Camden gives us a remarkable instance in the year 1595, in his attending the funeral of Sir Roger Williams, an old experienced officer whom he had long encouraged and supported, though the roughness of his behaviour had exposed him to the dislike of Sir Walter Raleigh, and other considerable persons. But,
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whatever disadvantages Essex might labour under from intrigues at court, yet, in times of danger, the queen had commonly recourse to his assistance.

Thus, in 1596, when the Spaniards, in the month of April, laid siege to Calais, and the discharges of their batteries were heard at Greenwich, an army was hastily raised, and marched to Dover, the command of which was given to the earl of Essex, the queen intending to have embarked these troops for the assistance of the French : which, however, they wisely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards keep Calais for a little while, than see it rescued from them by the English, who would, presuming on their old rights, probably keep it for ever.

The queen, however, taking advantage of that warm disposition which appeared in her people, to contribute, as far as in them lay, to keep the war at a distance, and to prevent the Spaniards from meditating a second invasion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for attacking Cadiz, best part of the expences being born by the principal persons engaged in that enterprize.

The command of this army and fleet was, with joint authority, intrusted to Robert, earl of Essex, and Charles, lord Howard, then lord high admiral of England ; with whom went many of the most distinguished officers, both for the land and sea service, that were then in England : the fleet, for its number of

ships, and for the land soldiers and mariners aboard, being the most considerable that, in those times, had been seen.

On the first of June they sailed from Plymouth, but were forced to put back by a contrary wind ; which changing, they took the first opportunity of putting again to sea. On the eighteenth of the same month they arrived at Cape St. Vincent, where they met with an Irish bark, which informed them that the port of Cadiz was full of ships, and that they had no notice whatever of the sailing of the English fleet, or that such an expedition was so much as intended.

After this welcome news they pursued their voyage, and, on the twentieth, in the morning, they anchored near St. Sebastian's, on the west side of the island of Cadiz, where the admiral would have had the forces debarked, in order to their immediately attacking the town ; which Essex caused to be attempted, but found to be impracticable ; and, upon the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, desisted. Camden, indeed, charges this rashness upon Essex ; but Sir Walter Raleigh, who is certainly better authority in this point, states it the other way.

It was then proposed by the earl to begin with attacking the fleet, which was a very hazardous enterprize, but, at last, agreed to by the lord-admiral ; on which Essex, when he received the news, threw his hat into the sea for joy. The next day, this gallant resolution was executed with all imaginable bravery,

very, and, in point of service, none did better, or hazarded his person more, than the earl of Essex, who, in his own ship, the *Due Repulse*, went to the assistance of Sir Walter Raleigh, and offered, if it had been necessary, to have seconded him in boarding the *St. Philip*. The Spaniards behaved very gallantly, so long as there were any hopes ; and, when there were none, set fire to their ships and retired.

The earl of Essex then landed eight hundred men at the Puntall ; and, having first taken proper measures for destroying the bridge, next attacked the place with so much fury, that it was quickly taken ; and, the next day, the citadel surrendered upon a capitulation, by which a great ransom was stipulated for the town. An offer was then made of two millions of ducats to spare the ships, and more might have been obtained ; but the lord high-admiral said, He came there to consume, and not to compound : of which when the Spaniards were informed, they resolved to have the burning of their own fleet, which they accordingly set on fire ; their loss by which was computed at twenty millions.

The earl was very desirous of keeping Cadiz, which he offered to have done with a very small garrison ; but the council differed from him in opinion : so that, having plundered the island and demolished the forts, they embarked on the fifth of July, and bore away for the port of Faro, in Algarve, which they plundered

plundered and destroyed. Thence they proceeded to Cape St. Vincent, and, being driven by a brisk wind out to sea, it fell under consideration, whether they should not sail for the Azores, in hopes of intercepting the plate fleet, which was carried in the negative; and the earl's proposal, with two of her majesty's ships, and ten others, to make this attempt, was rejected likewise: which Mr. Camden attributes to the desire of some of the officers, who had made large booties, to get their treasure safe on shore. They looked in, however, at Corunna, and the earl would have proceeded to St. Andreo and St. Sebastian; but others thinking they had done enough, the fleet returned prosperously to Plymouth on the eighth of August following; and the earl, with his squadron, two days after.

He was very well received by the queen, and highly applauded by the people; but, as it was too common with him, not entirely satisfied in himself; which induced him to write, at a time when some faults were imputed to him, a kind of narrative of this exploit, and a censure upon other mens conduct; which gained him little credit, and did him less good.

Yet, whatever might be the sentiments of the wiser part of the court, it appears plainly that, upon his return from this expedition, the earl of Essex stood very high in the favour of the queen and of the nation; and, perhaps, it might have gained him an accession of favour

your with the former, if the earl had not enjoyed so much of the latter, or had seemed to value it less than he did : but, as he had little of dissimulation in his temper, so the warmth with which he discovered either his affection or dislike, exposed him continually to the sinister practices of his enemies, who were thoroughly skilled in those arts which he knew least about.

They insinuated, therefore, to the queen, that, considering the earl's popularity, it would not be at all expedient for her service to receive such as he recommended to civil employments ; and this they carried so far as to make even his approbation destructive to mens fortunes whom they had encouraged and recommended themselves. A thing hardly to be credited if we had not the highest evidence to prove it.

It was a natural consequence, that the earl should behave to those he took to be the authors of such counsels with visible marks of anger and discontent ; and this conduct of his made him frequently upon bad terms even with the queen herself, who was a princess very jealous of her authority, and, in cases of this nature, bore but very indifferently with any expostulations. However, as well out of her natural kindness to him, as from a desire of shewing a just acknowledgment for his late service, she was pleased, on the nineteenth of March, 1597, to appoint him master of the ordnance by patent.

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This seems to have had a good effect, in quieting the mind, and raising the spirits of this great nobleman, who, upon a report that the Spaniards were forming a new fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, for the invasion of Ireland at least, if not England, readily offered his service to the queen, and chearfully declared, as Camden assures us, that he would either defeat this new armada, which had threatened England for a year together, or perish in the attempt. The queen, well pleased with this proposal, gave it all the countenance that could be desired, and caused a considerable fleet, though not so considerable as the action required, to be equipped for this service; and the earl of Essex was appointed general, admiral, and commander in chief.

We may guess at the interest which the earl had in the success of this voyage by the number of his friends who engaged therein as volunteers; and, amongst them of the nobility, were the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the lords Cromwell and Rich. His sanguine hopes, however, were, in some measure disappointed; for, sailing about the ninth of July from Plymouth, they met, at sixty leagues distance, with so rough a storm, and of four days continuance, that they were obliged to put back to Plymouth, where they remained wind-bound for a month; in which time a great part of their provisions was consumed.

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While the fleet was thus laid up, the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh set out post for the court, in order to receive fresh instructions. The proposals made by Essex, even after this disappointment, were very bold and great; but, as Camden seems to insinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; so that the queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the commanders in chief, according as the season and circumstances might encourage or permit. The same historian, and almost all who have written upon this subject after him, speaks of an old misunderstanding between Essex and Sir Walter before they left England, which was productive of most of the mischiefs that afterwards happened; which there is good reason, however, to believe a groundless imputation upon both; for, amongst other papers of a very curious and instructive nature, which have since been published in a very valuable collection, are the letters of Rowland White, esq. to Sir Robert Sidney, at that time governor of Flushing; and we learn from him, that, in the beginning of the year 1597, there were great intrigues at court, where secretary Cecil was the most favoured counsellor, had long private conferences with the queen, and retarded or advanced mens suits at his pleasure. Essex, at this time, was in some discontent, though a great favourite likewise, and kept, or was said

to keep, his bed when he was not very sick; receiving frequent messages from the queen, and having also private audiences.

In the beginning of the month of March, Sir Walter Raleigh had several private interviews with the earl, in order to bring about a good understanding between him and the secretary, which he urged would have several good consequences; such as, making the queen easy, removing a great obstacle in the management of public affairs, and contributing not a little to forwarding the schemes concerted for humbling the common enemy. It is easy to see from hence, that there could be no pique between the earl and Sir Walter Raleigh; for if there had, Sir Robert Cecil was too wise a man to have employed him.

While this treaty was in negotiation, there was a competition for the office of warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Robert Cecil supporting the new lord Cobham, and the earl of Essex recommending Sir Robert Sidney first, and, finding that would not do, standing for it himself; upon which it was proposed that he should accept of the mastership of the ordnance; which he did. Soon after this, Sir Henry Leigh was, at the recommendation of the earl of Essex, made knight of the garter; and the earl concurred in promoting the lord Borow to the government of Ireland.

In May, the treaty was in a manner concluded: the earl, by the mediation of Sir
Walter

Walter Raleigh, was reconciled to the secretary, and they concerted together all the measures preparatory to the island expedition: and from the same letters we learn, that Sir Walter Raleigh, who was entrusted with the care of victualing the fleet, had been remarkably civil to the earl of Essex, in what related to the provision of his own ship; and, when they were obliged to return by contrary winds, Mr. White represents their coming to London together, as the effects of their perfect intelligence, and does not give the least hint of any variance between them.

As soon as the fleet was repaired, and the land forces debarked, that, by the queen's command, were to remain at home, they sailed again from Plymouth on the seventeenth of August; having now two points in view, the one to burn the Spanish fleet in their own harbours, the other to intercept the ships they expected from the West-Indies. Camden blames Essex for appearing openly within sight of the Spanish coast, and thereby alarming the enemy; but Sir William Monson acquaints us with the true reason of the earl's conduct; which was, by making a show of a few ships, to draw out the enemy's fleet, it being found impossible to burn them in port. He also insinuates, that Sir Walter Raleigh kept at a distance from the fleet; which was another discouragement: but, from the best accounts we have, this also appears to be a groundless imagination. Sir Walter is afterwards said to have

have separated from the fleet by design, under pretence of repairing his ship; but Sir William Monson tells us plainly, that this separation was owing to an involuntary miscarriage in Essex himself. When they joined again at the islands, it appears plainly that Essex and Raleigh were very good friends notwithstanding there were some, on both sides, who laboured all they could to incense them against each other.

When they had refreshed at Flores, Essex commanded Raleigh to sail for Fayall, which he intended to attack with the whole fleet; but Sir Walter coming there first, and apprehending that the smallest delay might have prevented their design, very gallantly attacked, and very happily succeeded, in making himself master of the island before the arrival of Essex with the rest of the fleet. This gave occasion to Sir Walter's enemies to represent his vigilance and activity in the light of disobedience and contempt to Essex, which occasioned very high disputes; but, by the interposition of lord Thomas Howard, all things were compromised; Sir Walter excused what had happened to the earl, and the earl accepted his excuse. As the relations of this, which is called *The Island Voyage*, already published, are very exact, and in themselves larger than this whole life, it cannot be expected that we should enter here into all the particulars of this voyage; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that, notwithstanding
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the Spanish fleet escaped, and some other outward accidents happened, in which the earl was not altogether without blame, yet three ships from the Havannah, the cargoes of which amounted to near one hundred thousand pounds, were taken ; by which, the best part of the expences of the undertaking were defrayed, and so the fleet returned to England towards the close of October. The earl of Essex immediately began to shew evident signs of deep displeasure, he retired to his house at Wanstead, and, under pretence of sickness, absented himself from the service of parliament then sitting. Cambden reports, that his dissatisfaction arose from the lord admiral's being created earl of Nottingham in his absence, with some particular clauses in the preamble of his patent, which, as they were highly honourable for that noble peer, Essex conceived threw some disparagement upon himself. And, by way of satisfaction, he was created earl marshal of England ; on the twenty eighth of December, 1597 ; and took his place in parliament accordingly, on Wednesday the eleventh of January following.

It is generally agreed, that this noble person had nothing of dissimulation in his nature ; and therefore, having obtained this new favour of the queen, he was perfectly well pleased, and very readily promised Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, who was appointed to execute a commission of great importance to the French king, that nothing to the prejudice of
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his interest should be done in his absence, without which promise the secretary would not have gone: and this he not only performed with the utmost punctuality, but even discharged the secretary's business, in his absence, with care and vigilance. But, in the month of May, 1598, Sir Robert Cecil returning to England with new notions in relation to the peace, there quickly arose fresh disputes in the council about the expediency of that measure, which was very earnestly, as well as eloquently pressed by the old and wise lord treasurer Burleigh; and as warmly decried by the earl of Essex, who wanted not very plausible reasons in support of what he said. The treasurer, at length, grew into a great heat; insomuch that he told the earl, that he seemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and slaughter. Essex explained himself upon this, that the blood and slaughter of the queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention: that he was not against a solid, but a specious and precarious peace; that the Spaniards were a subtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more mischief in time of peace than of war; and, that, as to an enemy, whose hands it was impossible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own. The treasurer at last drew out a prayer-book, in which he shewed Essex this expression, "Men of blood should not live out half their days."

As the earl knew well enough, that various methods would be used to prejudice the com-
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mon people against him, more especially such as in any degree got their living by trade, or thought themselves oppressed by the taxes levied for the support of the war, he resolved to write a vindication of his own proceedings, and to deliver his own arguments, with all the advantages that his own pathetic eloquence could give them; which he addressed to his dear friend Anthony Bacon, and which still remains a memorial of his great virtues and admirable abilities. About this time died the lord treasurer Burleigh; which was a great misfortune to the earl of Essex, since the remembrance of his father, the trust reposed in him by committing this his eldest son to his care, and the respect and obedience which had been shewn him by the young lord for several years, preserved in him a tenderness for his person, and a real concern for his fortunes: but, when that great counsellor was gone, those who hated the earl, acted without restraint, crossed whatever he proposed, stopped the rise of every man he loved, and treated all his projects with an air of supercilious contempt, except one, which they thought would be his ruin.

By the death of the lord-treasurer Burleigh, the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge became vacant; upon which, that learned body chose the earl of Essex in his room. Upon this account he went down to pay them a visit, was entertained at Queen's-College with great magnificence; and, as a
proof

proof of their affection, the room in which he lay was, long after, distinguished by the name of Essex-chamber. We may account this one of the last instances of this great man's felicity, for he was now advanced too high to sit at ease; and those who longed for his honours and employments, very busily studied how they might bring about his fall.

The first shock he had given him in the queen's favour, was on the score of the person he proposed to be sent over to Ireland, before he was drawn to have thoughts of going thither himself; and though, in appearance, he was reconciled and restored to the queen's favour, yet there is good reason to doubt whether it was ever recovered in reality; or, at least, to the degree in which he formerly held it.

An event happened much about this time, which shewed the sentiments the enemies of England had of this noble person, and ought therefore to have endeared him to such as had a real affection for their country: there was one Edward Squire seized and imprisoned for treason, and his case came out to be this; he had been a groom in the queen's stables, went afterwards to sea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken prisoner and carried to Spain, where he was persuaded by a jesuit to undertake poisoning the earl of Essex, and afterwards queen Elizabeth: for performing which he had poison given him in a bladder. He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pom-
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mel of the queen's saddle; got himself afterwards recommended to serve on board the earl's ship in the island voyage, where, in like manner, he poisoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either case. Upon this, the Spanish jesuit, suspecting the man and not his drug, caused information to be given in England against Squire, who, finding himself betrayed by his confessor, opened the whole scene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to dispatch both the queen and the earl; for which he was deservedly executed.

The miseries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increased; and, when proposals were made, in the queen's council, for sending over a new governor, with certain restrictions; Essex took occasion of shewing, that nothing had been hitherto so expensive as an ill-timed frugality; and, that the Irish rebels had been the only gainers by the restraint put upon the English deputies. Those who hated this noble person, were not displeased when they found him in this disposition, and, at length, took, in their turn, occasion from his objections, to suggest, that the total reduction of that island was to be expected from none but himself; which, at first, he declined: but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home; that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit; and that, by failing the expectations of his friends, he should gradually lose them, he

consented to accept that fatal preferment, and agreed to go over into that kingdom, which had been the grave of his fathers's fortunes, and which his best friends foresaw would prove the gulph of his own. It is indeed true that he had a great army granted him, and that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were very large, and his appointments very great; but these were obtained with many struggles, and notice was taken of every thing he promised, or seemed to promise, in order to obtain them; and, when all things were regulated, he was so far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had sought, and to a command which he meditated for the sake of greater things, that he seemed rather to look upon it as a banishment, and a place assigned him to retreat from his sovereign's present displeasure, rather than a potent government bestowed upon him by her favour.

The truth of this may be not only probably collected, but in some measure proved, from an epistle of his to the queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his going thither, of which there is a very imperfect copy in the Cabala; but that loss is now supplied, by the following full and correct transcript of that valuable and authentic paper, from the collections in the Harleian library. If we consider the earl's character, and how incapable he was of dissimulation, the weight of this evidence will be
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the greater ; but, without taking in that, the very stile of the letter is such as will put all suspicion of artifice out of the case ; which will teach the reader what to think of the declaration of his treasons, that stands entirely upon this bottom, that he had plotted a revolution in England before he went to Ireland ; and desired the lieutenancy that he might put himself at the head of an army, and enter into a confederacy with the rebels.

“ To the Queen.

“ From a mind delighting in sorrow ; from spirits wasted with passion ; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travail, from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive ; what service can your majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the curfedeft of all islands ? It is your rebels pride and succession must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison, out of my loathed body ; which, if it happen so, your majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.

“ Happy he could finish forth his fate
 “ In some unhaunted desert, most obscure
 “ From all society, from love and hate
 “ Of worldly folk ; then should he sleep secure ;
 E 2 “ Then

- “ Then wake again, and yield God ever praise;
 “ Content with hips, and haws, and bramble-
 berry ;
 “ In contemplation passing out his days,
 “ And change of holy thoughts to make him
 merry :
 “ Who, when he dies, his tomb may be a bush,
 “ Where harmless Robin dwells, with gentle
 Thrush.

Your majesty's exiled servant,

R O B E R T E S S E X.”

On the twelfth of March, 1598, his commission for lord lieutenant passed the great-seal ; and, on the twenty-seventh of the same month, about two in the afternoon, he set out from Seething lane, and passing through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the nobility, he was attended by vast crowds of people out of town ; and it was observed, with a view, perhaps, to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceeding fair when he took horse, but, by that time he came to Islington, there was a heavy storm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning. The like bad weather he met with at sea, so that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before the fifteenth of April, 1599.

He found things in that country in a state very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at least to any purpose, till he was well acquainted

quainted with the country in which he was to act. He found, likewise, that the new-raised men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were seasoned to the country, and well acquainted with discipline. These considerations hindered him from marching directly to Ulster, for fear Tir-Oen should make any advantage of his weaknesses; and the council desiring that he would suppress some disorders in Munster, he thought that a fair occasion of exercising his new troops, and did it effectually.

On his return to Dublin, that very day two months on which he arrived at his government, he wrote a letter to the queen, containing a free, fair, and full representation of the state of things in that country; which most admirable performance, pointing out all the steps that were afterwards taken, and by which his successor made an end of the war, remains upon record in Ireland; but, of the contents thereof, not a syllable is mentioned in Camden or the rest of our historians. This letter he sent over to the queen by his secretary, in hopes that from thence she might have derived a just notion of the state of things in that island; but it produced no such effect: on the contrary, the queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulster, in order to attack Tir-Oen, and repeated her orders upon that head in very strong terms. Before these arrived, however, Sir Henry Harrington, with some of the fresh troops, had

been worsted by the O'Brians ; which so provoked Essex, that he caused the remains of those troops to be decimated ; which, with the throwing a soldier over-board in his last expedition, with his own hands, are the only instances of severity recorded of him.

When he received the queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulster, he was prevailed upon to enter the country of Ophaly, to reduce the O'Connors and the O'Moores ; which he performed ; but his troops were so harrassed and diminished thereby, that, with the advice and consent of the council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thousand men. In the midst of these crosses in Ireland, an army was suddenly raised in England, under the command of the earl of Nottingham ; no-body well knowing why : but, in reality, from the suggestions of the earl's enemies to the queen, that he rather meditated an invasion on his native country, than the reduction of the Irish rebels.

At length, Essex, intending for Ulster, sent orders to Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that side, that Tir-Oen might be obliged to divide his forces ; which was executed, but with such ill fortune, that the English, being surprised, were beaten, with the loss of their commander in chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men.

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Upon the arrival of the succours which he had demanded, he marched, though with a small force, against Tir-Oen, in the latter end of the month of August; but, on the eighth of September following, was prevailed upon to confer with him alone at the ford of Ballaclynch; and afterwards with counsellors on both sides, when he concluded a peace for six weeks, and so from six weeks to six weeks till May; provided that, on a fortnight's notice, either party might be at liberty to resume the war.

He was led to this by the weak and desperate resolution he had taken of returning to England, whither he had once some thoughts of transporting a body of his forces, but was dissuaded from it by his friends. However, upon receiving a sharp letter, directed to him and the council, from the queen, he determined to stay no longer, settled the government in the best manner he could, and, with a few of his friends, came over to England.

He arrived before any notice could be received of his design; went directly to the court at Nonfuch, and presented himself to the queen, on the twenty-eighth of September, where he met with a tolerable reception; but was, soon after, committed, treated with a mixture of kindness and severity, till, upon his absolute submission, he was brought before some of the privy-council; severely reprimanded, dismissed from the board, suspended from the exercise of all his great offices, except

that of master of the horse, and committed to a keeper, Sir Richard Barkley, who was, not long after, withdrawn.

In the summer of the year 1600, he recovered his liberty; and, in the autumn following, he received Mr. Cusse, who had been his secretary in Ireland into his councils; who laboured to persuade him, that submission would never do him any good; that the queen was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and, that the only way to restore his fortune, was to find the means of obtaining an audience, in which he might be able to represent his own case, let that means be what it would. The earl heard this dangerous advice without consenting to it, till he found there was no hopes of getting his farm of the sweet wines renewed; then, it is said, that, giving loose to his passion, he let fall many vehement expressions; and, amongst the rest, this fatal reflection, That the queen grew old and cankered, and that her mind was as crooked as her carcase. Cambden says that this was aggravated by some of the court ladies, whom he had disappointed in their intrigues. The earl of Clarendon seems to suspect the truth of it, but another great historian, who knew all the passages of those times well, is more clear in this respect. Those enemies, who had exact intelligence of all he proposed, having provided effectually against the execution of his designs, hurried him upon his fate, by a message sent on the evening of

of the seventh of February, requiring him to attend the council; which he declined. He then gave out that they sought his life, kept a watch in Essex-house all night, and summoned his friends, for his defence, the next morning.

The queen, being informed of the great resort of people of all ranks to the earl, sent the lord-keeper Egerton, the earl of Worcester, Sir Francis Knolles (his uncle by the mother's side) and the lord-chief-justice Popham, to know his grievances; whom, after a short and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lord Sands, the lord Monteagle, and about two hundred gentlemen, he went into the city, where the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and some other gentlemen, joined him; but his dependance on the populace failed him; and Sir Robert Cecil prevailing upon his brother, the lord Burleigh, to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick, then king at arms, and proclaim Essex and his adherents traitors, in the principal streets, the earl found it impossible to return to his house by land; and, therefore, sending Sir Ferdinando Gorges before to release the chief-justice, who, for his own sake, thought fit to extend that order to the rest of the privy counsellors; the earl, with his principal attendants, returned in boats to Essex-house; which was quickly invested by the earl of Nottingham, lord-admiral, with a great force; to whom, after

many disputes, and some blood spilt, he and his adherents at last surrendered.

Essex was carried that night to the archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, with the earl of Southampton, and the next day they were sent to the Tower. On the nineteenth of the same month they were arraigned before their peers, and, after a long trial, they were found guilty, and sentence of death pronounced by the lord Buckhurst, who sat as lord-high-steward. Upon this melancholy occasion, all that Essex said, was, "If her majesty had pleased, this body of mine might have done her better service; however, I shall be glad if it may prove serviceable to her any way."

After he was remanded to the Tower, there were great pains taken to draw from him very large and full confessions; which was the more easy, as he was truly and sincerely pious; and, after he was once persuaded, that his project was of a treasonable nature, he made a point of conscience to disclose all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends, and could do no good to himself; and, indeed, he did not appear either to design or desire it. Two reasons seem especially to have moved such as set on foot these practices, by which the honesty of Essex was rendered fatal even to his last breath; and they were such as became politicians, who had nothing but self-interest in view; which, if they could promote, they had not either consideration or pity
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for others. The first was, that, by his proper confession, they might effectually establish the truth of his plot, increase the number of its circumstances, heighten the apparent danger of its consequences, and thereby furnish plentiful materials for proclamations, sermons, and declarations, which might remove from the unhappy earl all means of obtaining mercy; excite in the queen the utmost horror; and, at the same time, terrify her with dismal apprehensions, while the nation in general was astonished, and their affection for the unhappy earl cooled, or, at least, confounded. In all which, for a time, they gained their end. The other motive was, finding out evidence against the chief of his adherents, many of whom were of great quality, and some also of great fortune, whom they meant to let escape out of the briars, provided nevertheless that they left their fleeces behind them; in which they were likewise but too successful, rendering highly profitable to themselves that clemency which their royal mistress would have extended freely.

After drawing out of Essex all that he could say, and thereby rendering death more desirable to him than life, the twenty-fifth of February was fixed for his execution; as to which the queen was irresolute to the very last; so that she sent Sir Edward Cary to countermand it: but, as Camden says, considering afterwards his obstinacy, his refusing to ask her pardon, and declaring that his life was inconsistent

with her safety, she countermanded these orders, and directed he should die. There is a strange story current in the world about a ring, which the earl of Clarendon styles a loose report, that crept into discourse soon after his miserable end; yet a foreign writer of great reputation, gives us this as an undoubted truth, and that upon the authority of an English minister, who might be well presumed to know what he said; and therefore, in the words of that writer, we shall report it.

“ It will not, I believe, be thought either impertinent or disagreeable to add here what prince Maurice had from the mouth of Mr. Carleton, ambassador from England in Holland, who died secretary of state; so well known under the name of my lord Dorchester, and who was a man of merit. He said, that queen Elizabeth gave the earl of Essex a ring, in the height of her passion for him, ordering him to keep it, and that whatever he should commit, she would pardon him, when he should return that pledge. Since that time, the earl’s enemies having prevailed with the queen, who besides was exasperated against him for the contempt he shewed her beauty, which, through age, began to decay, she caused him to be impeached.

“ When he was condemned, she expected that he would send her the ring, and would have granted him his pardon according to her promise. The earl, finding himself in the last extremity, applied to admiral Howard’s lady,

lady, who was his relation, and desired her, by a person whom he could trust, to return the ring into the queen's own hands. But her husband, who was one of the earl's greatest enemies, and to whom she told this imprudently, would not suffer her to acquit herself of the commission; so that the queen consented to the earl's death, being full of indignation against such a proud and haughty spirit, who chose rather to die than to implore her mercy.

“ Some time after, the admiral's lady fell sick, and, being given over by her physicians, she sent word to the queen, that she had something of great consequence to tell her before she died. The queen came to her bed-side, and having ordered all the attendants to withdraw, the admiral's lady returned her, but too late, that ring from the earl of Essex, desiring to be excused that she did not return it sooner, having been prevented doing it by her husband.

“ The queen retired immediately, being overwhelmed with the utmost grief; she sighed continually for a fortnight following, without taking any nourishment, lying a-bed, entirely dressed, and getting up an hundred times a-night. At last she died with hunger and with grief, because she had consented to the death of a lover who had applied to her for mercy.

“ This melancholy adventure shews, that there are frequent transitions from one passion

to another ; and, that as love often changes to hate, so hate, giving place sometimes to pity, brings the mind back again into its first state."

Sir Dudley Carleton, who is made the author of this story, was a man who deserved the character that is given of him, and could not but be well informed of what passed at court : but, whoever considers the age of queen Elizabeth, at the time when the earl of Essex first entered her presence, will find it difficult to believe the queen ever considered him in the light of a lover.

This countess of Nottingham was the daughter of the lord viscount Hunsdon, related to the queen, and also by his mother to the earl of Essex.

Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that something of truth there certainly is as to the queen's death being hastened by an accident relating to a ring, and by her reflecting on the death of the earl of Essex.

In the ceremony of her coronation, she was wedded to the kingdom with a ring, which she always wore, till, the flesh growing over it, it was filed off a little before her decease. About the same time observing, that the loss of Essex, and the confusion of his friends, had put her entirely into the hands of those who began to neglect her, and court her successor, she could not help saying in an excess of passion, " They have now got me in a yoke,
I have

I have nobody left me that I can trust; my condition is the perfect reverse of what it was." It is also true, that a melancholy sense of this brought her to her end about twenty-five months after the death of Essex.

The manner of the earl's suffering death is so largely related in Camden, and others, that we shall not meddle with it here, farther than to observe, that, as many actions of his life spoke him a hero, so this last action shewed him a true Christian, by manifesting he was far less careful of his body than his soul, and much more afraid of his sin than his punishment.

" On the twenty-fifth of February, 1601, which was the day appointed for his execution, Thomas Mountford and William Barlow, doctors of divinity, with Ashton, the minister of the church in the Tower, were sent unto him early in the morning to administer christian consolation to his soul. In presence of these men he gave thanks to almighty God from the bottom of his heart, that his designs, which were so dangerous to the state, succeeded not. He told them, he had now looked thoroughly and seriously into his sin, and was heartily sorry he had so obstinately defended an unjust cause at the bar. He thanked the queen she had granted he should not be publicly executed, lest his mind, which was now settled and composed, might be disturbed by the acclamations of the people, protesting that he had now learned how vain a thing the
blast

blast of popular favour and applause was. He acknowledged how worthy he was to be spued out (these were his words) by the commonwealth, for the wickedness of his enterprize, which he likened to a leprosy spread far and near, and that had infected many.

“ The queen, in the mean time, wavered in her mind. One while relenting, she sent her commands by Sir Edward Cary that he should not be executed; but then remembering his perverse obstinacy, that he scorned to ask her pardon, and had declared openly that his life would be the queen’s destruction, she soon after sent a fresh command by Darcy, that he should be put to death.

“ Then he was brought forth between the divines to a scaffold erected within the courtyard of the Tower; near which sat the earls of Cumberland and Hertford, viscount Howard of Bindon, the lord Howard of Walden, the lord Darcy of Chiche, and the lord Compton. There were present also some of the aldermen of London, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who, if we may believe himself, came with an intent to make answer if any thing should be objected against him by the earl at his death; but others thought he came to feed his eyes with a sight of the earl’s sufferings, and to satiate his hatred with his blood. But being admonished not to press upon the earl at his death which is the part rather of ignoble brutes, he withdrew himself further off, and beheld his execution out of the armory.

The

“ The earl, as soon as he was come upon the scaffold, uncovered his head, and, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, acknowledged that many and great had been the sins of his youth ; for which, with most fervent prayer, he begged pardon of the eternal majesty of God, through Christ his mediator ; especially for this last sin, which he termed a bloody, crying, and contagious sin, wherewith so many had been seduced to sin against God, their prince, and country. He besought the queen and her ministers to forgive him, praying for her long life and prosperous estate ; protesting withal, that he never intended to lay violent hands upon her person. He gave God thanks that he had never been atheist, or papist, but had placed all his hope and confidence in the merits of Christ. He prayed God to strengthen his mind against the terrors of death, desiring the standers-by to join with him in a short prayer ; which, with broken sighs, and fervent affection of inward devotion, he presently uttered. Afterwards, the executioner, asking forgiveness, he forgave him : he recited the Apostle’s Creed, and then, laying himself down, placed his neck upon the block ; and, having repeated the first verses of the fifty-first psalm, he said, “ In humility and obedience, I prostrate myself to my deserved punishment : Thou, O God, have mercy on Thy prostrate servant ; into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.”

His

“His head was taken off at the third stroke, but the first took away all sense and motion.”

His character is very fully drawn by Sir Henry Wotton, very fairly by Sir Robert Naunton, very freely by Camden, and very finely touched by the masterly pen of the lord Clarendon ; neither are there wanting some useful touches in Osborne, Fuller, Lloyd, Winstanley, and other writers of less fame. It appears, from the comparison of these, that, in respect to the public, he was truly a patriot, had a great regard to his sovereign's honour, and no less zeal for his country's service ; he valued himself on losing a father and a brother, and in spending a great part of his substance in the cause of both ; his projects were high, but very honourable ; and the difficulties with which they were embarrassed, seemed rather to invite than to deject him. He was, however, too covetous of royal favour, and some say, not respectful enough to the royal person ; and, if there was any truth in this, his fault was inexcusable, the queen preventing his merit by her favours, as well as rewarding it by honours ; nor did he feel the sunshine only, but the dew of the court ; since, if the lord-treasurer Buckhurst computed right, and he was no enemy to my lord of Essex, he received, in grants, pensions, and places, to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds ; but then, as he received all this from, he spent it for, the public ; and, if he

he sometimes appeared covetous, it was, that he might be always generous; for, to his honour be it spoke, learning never approached him ungraced, merit unrewarded, or want without receiving relief. His sovereign's favour he lost often; the fidelity of his friends, and the affection of the people, never; yet he sometimes trusted those who had been formerly his enemies, and was not fortunate in all his enterprizes; which renders the wonder greater.

As to his person, he is reported to have been tall, but not very well made; his countenance reserved; his air rather martial than courtly, very careless in dress, and very little addicted to trifling diversions. Learned he was, and a lover of learned men; wrote with that facility which is the true mark of genius; with that closeness and perspicuity, which is the happiest fruits of learning; and that noble simplicity, which is the characteristic of a great mind. Sincere in his friendship, but not so careful as he ought to have been in making a right choice; sound in morals, except in the point of gallantry; and thoroughly well affected to the protestant religion, of which he had very just notions, despising alike the meanness of superstition and the folly of infidelity.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN KNOX.

JOHN KNOX, the principal director of the reformation in the Scotch church, was descended of an ancient and honourable family; and was born, in the year 1505, at Gifford, near Hadingtoun, in the county of East Lothian, in Scotland. He received the first part of his education in the grammar-school of Hadingtoun, and from thence was removed to the university of St. Andrews, where he was placed under the tuition of the celebrated Mr. John Mair; and applied himself with such uncommon diligence to the academical learning then in vogue, that, in a short time, and while yet very young, he obtained the degree of master of arts.

As the bent of his inclination led him strongly to the church, he turned the course of his studies early that way; and, by the advantage of his tutor's instructions, soon became remarkable for his knowledge in scholastic theology; so that he took priest's orders before the period usually allowed by the canons: and, from being a learner of them, began himself to teach, with great applause, his beloved



John Knox.



loved science. But, after some time, upon a careful perusal of the fathers of the church, and particularly the writings of St. Jerom and St. Austin, his taste was entirely altered. He quitted the cobweb subtilty of the schools, and applied to a plainer and more simple divinity.

At his entrance upon this new course of study, he attended the preaching of Thomas Guillian, a black-friar, whose sermons were of extraordinary service to him. This friar was provincial of his order in 1543, when the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, favoured the reformation; and Mr. George Wishart, mentioned in our life of Beatoun, coming from England in the succeeding year, with the commissioners sent from king Henry VIII. Knox being of an inquisitive nature, learned from him the principles of the Protestants; with which he was so pleased, that he renounced the Romish religion, and became a zealous reformer, having left St. Andrews a little before, being appointed tutor to the sons of the lairds of Ormiston and Languidry, who were both favourers of the reformation.

Mr. Knox's ordinary residence was at Languidry, where he not only instructed his pupils in the several parts of learning, but was particularly careful to instil into their minds the principles of piety and the protestant religion: but this coming to the ears of the bishop of St. Andrews, that prelate prosecuted him

him with such severity, that he was frequently obliged to abscond, and fly from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with such continual dangers, he resolved to retire to Germany, in which the new opinions were spreading very fast; knowing that in England, though the pope's authority was suppressed, yet the greater part of his doctrine remained in full vigour. But this design being much disliked by the fathers of both his pupils, they, by their importunity, prevailed with him to go to St. Andrews, about Easter, 1547; and, for his own safety, as well as of that of their children, to take shelter in the castle, where they might all be secure from the efforts of the Papists, and he be in a condition to instruct the young gentlemen.

Here he began to teach his pupils in his usual manner. Besides the grammar, and the classical authors, he read a catechism to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publicly in the parish-church of St. Andrews. He likewise continued to read to them the gospel of St. John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Languidry. This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the castle, whereat several of the place were present. Among these, Mr. Henry Bolnaveis, and John Rough, preacher there, being pleased with the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to entreat him to take the preacher's place: but he absolutely refused;
alleging,

alleging, that he would not run where God had not called him; meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Here-upon they deliberating the matter in a consultation with Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount, lyon king at arms, a person of great probity and learning, it was concluded to give Mr. Knox a charge publicly by the mouth of the preacher. Accordingly, Mr. Rough, upon the day agreed, preached a sermon concerning the election of ministers; and then addressed himself particularly to Mr. Knox, who was by, and said, "Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all these that are here present; which is this: In the name of God, and of his son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call upon you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy vocation; but, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of men, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire he should multiply his graces with you." Then directing his speech to the audience, he said, "Was not this your charge to me, and do ye not approve this vocation?" They answered, "It was, and we do approve it." Whereat
Mr.

Mr. Knox, abashed, burst forth into most abundant tears, and withdrew into his chamber.

His countenance and behaviour from that day to the day he was forced to present himself in the public place of preaching, sufficiently declared the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth in him, neither had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days afterwards: but, on the Sunday appointed, ascending the pulpit, he preached a sermon upon Dan. vii. 23---28; from which text he proved, to the satisfaction of his auditors, that the pope was Antichrist, and that the doctrine of the Roman church was contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. He likewise gave the notes both of the true church, and of the antichristian church, &c. of which he gives a full account in his history.

This sermon made a great noise; and the popish clergy being much incensed at it, the abbot of Paisley, lately nominated to the see of St. Andrew's, and not yet consecrated, wrote a letter to the sub-prior, who, sede vacante, was vicar-general, expressing great surprise, that such heretical and schismatical doctrines were suffered to be taught without opposition,

Upon this rebuke, the sub-prior called a convention of grey and black friars, to meet in St. Leonard's yard; where, by our preachers being convened; they were charged with
several

several offences. Then the articles of the church were read, and the sub-prior entered into a conference with Mr. Knox, who, after that, disputed with one of the friars upon several controverted points between the Papists and the Protestants. Popery sensibly lost ground by the dispute; and the supporters of it found themselves obliged to take another method to maintain its reputation.

An order was passed, obliging every learned person in the abby and university to preach in the parish churches by turns upon Sundays, and, in their sermons, not to touch upon any controverted points. But Mr. Knox rendered this caution ineffectual, by preaching on the week days; when he took occasion to praise God that Christ Jesus was preached, and nothing said publicly against the doctrine he had taught them; protesting withal, that, if, in his absence, they should speak any thing which they forbore while he was present, that his hearers should suspend their judgment till it should please God they should hear him again. And he was so successful in his work, that all the people in the castle, and a great number in the town, openly professed the protestant doctrine, and testified it by partaking of the Lord's Supper, in the same manner it was administered in the church of Scotland, after the protestant religion was established by law, anno 1560. "And this," says a learned author, "in 1547, was, perhaps, the first time that the Eucharist was dispensed with

in Scotland in the way of the reformed churches.

Mr. Knox continued thus in the diligent discharge of his ministerial work, till July in that year, when the castle was surrendered to the French.

Mr. Knox, with the rest, was carried to France, and remained a prisoner on board the gallies till the latter end of the year 1549; when, being set at liberty, he passed to England; and going to London, was there licensed, and appointed preacher, first at Berwick and next at Newcastle.

During this employ, he received a summons, in 1551, to appear before Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of Durham, for preaching against the mass.

In 1552, he was appointed chaplain to king Edward VI. and, the ensuing year, he had the grant of forty pounds per annum till some benefice in the church should be conferred on him. The same year he came into some trouble on account of a bold sermon preached at Newcastle, upon Christmas-day, against the obstinacy of the Papists: and, about the latter end of the year, viz. 1552, he returned to London; and, being well esteemed by his majesty and some of the court, for his zealous preaching against the errors of the Romish church, he was appointed to preach before the king and council at Westminster a little before his majesty's departure thence.

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In this sermon he had several piercing glances against some great men, who were secretly well wishers to the old superstition, though outwardly they submitted to the then present establishment. But, notwithstanding that it must have been about this time, that the council sent to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to bestow the living of Allhallows, in London, upon him, which accordingly was offered him ; but he refused it, not caring to conform to the English Liturgy as it then stood. However, he still held his place of itinerary preacher ; and, in the discharge of that office, going to Buckinghamshire, was greatly pleased with his reception at some towns, particularly at Amersham, in that county ; and he continued to preach there, and at other places, some time after queen Mary's accession to the throne.

But, in February that year, he left England, and, crossing the sea to Dieppe, in France, went from thence to Geneva ; where he had not been long, when he was called by the congregation of the English refugees, then established at Franckfort, to be preacher to them. This vocation he obeyed, though unwillingly, at the command of John Calvin : and he continued at Franckfort till some of the principal persons of his congregation, finding it impossible to persuade him to use the English Liturgy, resolved to effect his removal from the place.

In that view, they accused him to the magistrates, of treason, committed both against their sovereign, the emperor of Germany, and also against their own sovereign in England, queen Mary ; and the magistrates, not having it in their power to save him, if he should be required, either by the emperor, or, in his name, by queen Mary ; gave him private notice thereof : which he no sooner received, than he set out for Geneva ; where he arrived on the twenty-sixth of March, 1555, but stayed there only till August following ; when, resolving, after so long an absence, to make a visit to his native country, he went to Scotland.

Upon his arrival there, which was in the end of harvest, finding the professors of the reformed religion much encreased in number, and formed into a society under the inspection of some teachers, he associated himself with them, and preached to them. Presently after this, he accompanied one of them, the laird of Dun, to his seat in the north ; where he stayed a month, teaching and preaching daily to considerable numbers who resorted thither ; among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country.

From thence returning to Lothian, he resided, for the most part, in the house of Calder, with Sir James Sandilands, where he met with many persons of the first rank ; viz. the maister of Erskine, afterwards earl of Mar ;
the

the lord Lorn, afterwards the earl of Argyle ; lord James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, afterwards earl of Murray and regent of Scotland. With these noble personages he conversed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the protestant doctrine.

In the winter of 1555, he taught, for the most part, in Edinburgh. About Christmas, 1556, he went to the west of Scotland, at the desire of some protestant gentlemen, and preached in many places in Kyle ; and in some he celebrated the Eucharist after the manner of the reformed churches. He visited likewise the earl of Glencairn, at his house of Fynlaiston in the county of Renfrew, and administered the sacrament to his lordship's family.

From these western parts he returned to the east, and resided some time in Calder, where many resorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the sacraments.

From thence he went a second time to the laird of Dun's house, in the county of Mearns, where he preached more publicly than before, and administered the sacraments to many persons of note at their desire.

The popish clergy being greatly alarmed at this success of Mr. Knox, in protecting the protestant cause, summoned him to appear before them in the church of Black Friars in Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of May, 1556 ; and several gentlemen of distinction, among whom was the laird of Dun, resolving to stand by him, he determined to obey the summons.

But the prosecution was dropped when the bishops perceived such a considerable party in his favour. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day on which he was cited; where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; and in the bishop of Dunkeld's great house he taught, both before and after noon, to great numbers, for ten days.

At this time, the earl of Glencairn prevailed with the earl marischal, and his trustee, Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr. Knox's sermons. They were extremely well satisfied with his discourse, and proposed to him to write to the queen-regent an earnest letter, to persuade her, if possible, to hear the protestant doctrine. He complied with their desire, and wrote to her in May, 1556. The letter was delivered by the earl of Glencairn. The queen read it, and gave it to cardinal Beaton, with this sarcastic expression, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil?"

This gave occasion to Mr. Knox to make some additions in his letter, which he printed afterwards, with the additions, at Geneva, in 1558.

While our reformer was thus occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, earnestly entreating him to come thither; and, having seriously considered this invitation, he determined to comply with it. Accordingly, in July, 1556, he left Scotland, went first to Dieppe, in France, and from thence to Geneva.

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He had no sooner turned his back, than the bishops summoned him before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they passed sentence against him for heresy, and burned him in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. Against this he afterwards printed, at Geneva, in 1558, his appeal from the cruel and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and clergy of Scotland, with his supplication to the nobility, estates, and commonality of the said realm.

On the tenth of March, 1557, several noblemen, the chief promoters of the reformation at that time in Scotland, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good posture, and being sensible of the usefulness of Mr. Knox for the purpose, sent him an express, earnestly desiring him to return home. This letter coming to his hands in May, 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but, having consulted with Mr. Calvin, and other ministers, they gave it, as their opinion, that he could not refuse such a plain call, unless he would declare himself rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his country. The congregation, upon this, yielded to his departure; and he wrote back by the messengers who brought the letter, that he would return to Scotland with all reasonable expedition.

Accordingly, having provided for his flock at Geneva, he left them in the end of September, and came to Dieppe, in his way to

Scotland, on the twenty-fourth of October. But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new consultations were entered into, and advising him to stay at Dieppe till the conclusion of them. This was also farther explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr. Knox, wherein he was told, that many of those who had before joined in the invitation, were becoming inconstant, and began to draw back.

Upon the receipt of these advices, Mr. Knox wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords who had invited him, concerning their rashness; wherein he denounced judgments against such as should be inconstant in the religion they now professed. Besides which, he wrote several other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and professors of the reformed religion of an inferior degree; exhorting them to constancy in that doctrine, and giving some useful cautions against the errors of sectaries, which grew up about this time both in Germany and in England.

In these letters he also enjoined them to give due obedience to authority in all lawful things: and such an effect had these letters on those who received them, that they, one and all, entered into an agreement to commit themselves, and whatsoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than suffer idolatry to reign; and the subjects be defrauded of the only food of their souls: and, that
every

every one might be assured the more of one another, a common bond, or covenant, was made and entered into by them, dated at Edinburgh, on the third of December, 1557.

Mr. Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of 1558, and the same year he printed there his treatise, entitled, "The First Blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women," He designed to have written a subsequent piece, which was to have been called, "The Second Blast:" but queen Mary of England dying soon after, The First Blast was published; and he, having a great esteem for queen Elizabeth, whom he looked upon as an instrument raised up, by the providence of God, for the good of the Protestants, he went no farther.

In April, 1559, he determined to return to his native country; and, having a strong desire, in his way thither, to visit those in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Gospel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old acquaintance, to procure leave for that purpose. But this petition was so far from being granted, that the messenger, whom he sent to solicit that favour, very narrowly escaped imprisonment. Hereupon he made the best of his way to Scotland, where he arrived on the second of May, 1559; and was very active in promoting the reformation there, as appears from the second book of his history, which contains a full account of his conduct

till the Protestants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which transaction, in July, this year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir William Cecil incognito at Stamford; but his journey being retarded by the danger of passing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was afterwards sent, in company with Mr. Robert Hamilton, another protestant minister, to negotiate these affairs between the Protestants in Scotland and queen Elizabeth.

When they came to Berwick, they remained some days with Sir James Crofts, the governor, who undertook to manage their business for them, and advised them to return home, which they did. Secretary Cecil sent also an answer to the protestant nobility and gentry, concerning their proposals to queen Elizabeth; which was so general that they were very near resolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr. Knox interposed with so much earnestness that they allowed him to write once more to the secretary. To this letter there was quickly sent an answer, desiring that some persons of credit might be sent to confer with the English at Berwick; and the same letter informed them, that there was a sum of money ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cause; assuring them, that, if the lords of the congregation were willing to enter into a league with queen Elizabeth, upon honourable terms, they should neither want men or money.

Upon

Upon this answer, Mr. Henry Balnavers, a man well respected in both kingdoms, was sent to Berwick, who soon returned with a sum of money, which defrayed the public expence till November; when John Cockburne, of Ormiston, being sent for the second support, received it, but fell into the hands of earl Bothwell, who took the money from him.

In the interim, Mr. Knox was chosen minister of Edinburgh in July; but, being obliged to attend the lords, while the agreement was in dependance, Mr. Willock was left in Edinburgh to officiate in his room.

The effect of these negotiations was, the sending of an army under the command of the duke of Norfolk; which being joined by almost all the great men in Scotland, at last a peace was procured and concluded between the two kingdoms, on the eighth of July, 1560.

The congregationers being freed by this peace from any disturbance, made several regulations towards propagating and establishing the new religion; and, in order to have the reformed doctrine preached throughout the kingdom, a division was made thereof into twelve districts, (for the whole number of the reformed ministers at this time was only twelve); whereby the district of Edinburgh was assigned to Mr. Knox. These twelve ministers composed a confession of faith, which was afterwards ratified by parliament. They also compiled the first books of discipline for that church.

In December, this year, Mr. Knox buried his first wife, Margery Bowes, an English woman, for whose loss he was much grieved. In January, the following year, 1561, we find him engaged in a dispute, concerning the controverted points of religion, against Mr. Alexander Anderson, sub-principal of the king's college at Aberdeen; and Mr. John Leslie, afterwards bishop of Ross. In March, 1560-1, Mr. John Spottiswood was admitted superintendant of Lothian by Mr. Knox. And the same year, on the twentieth of August, 1561, Mary, queen of Scots, arrived at Leith from France.

From her first arrival, her majesty set up a private mass in her own chapel; which afterwards, by her protection and countenance, was much more frequented. This excited the zeal of Mr. Knox, who expressed himself with great warmth against allowing it; and an act of the privy-council being proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, forbidding any disturbance to be given to this practice, under pain of death, on the twenty-fifth of that month, Mr. Knox openly, in his sermon the Sunday following, declared, that one mass was more frightful to him than ten thousand armed enemies landed in any part of the realm.

This freedom of speech gave great offence to the court, and the queen herself had a long conference with him upon that and other subjects, at which times he is reported to have acted

acted a part not quite becoming the humility of a subject to his sovereign.

In 1562, we find him employed in reconciling the earls of Bothwell and Arran; which is an evidence how much he was regarded by the most eminent persons in the kingdom, and how much interest he had with them. The same year, the queen, being informed that her uncles were like to recover their former interest at the court of France, received the news with great joy. Mr. Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the power of her relations would produce dismal effects, in prejudice of the reformed interest in these parts, he thought fit to preach a sermon, wherein he taxed the ignorance, vanity, and despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared. This, and other expressions, in reproof of dancing for joy, at the displeasure taken against God's people, coming to the ears of the queen, her majesty sent for him, and had a second conference with him.

This year also he was appointed by the general assembly, commissioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, by his influence, several of the most eminent gentlemen entered into a covenant, which was subscribed on the fourth of September, 1562.

From the shire of Air he went to Nithsdale and Galloway, and had several conferences
about

about matters of great importance with the master of Moxwell ; and, from this county he wrote to the duke of Chaterault, giving him cautions both against the bishop of St. Andrews and the earl of Huntley, whose councils he judged might prove obnoxious to the Protestants. At this time he accepted a challenge, made by an eminent person among the Papists, to a public disputation upon the mass, which continued the space of three days, and was afterwards printed.

In the beginning of the queen's first parliament, Mr. Knox endeavoured to excite the earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage to get the articles of Leith established by law ; but finding him cooler than he expected, there followed a breach between them, which continued for a year and a half ; and, after the bill was rejected, the parliament not being dissolved, he preached a sermon before a great many of the members, wherein he expressed his sense of that matter with vehemency ; and, at the close, declared his abhorrency of the queen's marrying a papist. This gave great offence to the court ; and her majesty, sending for him a third time, expressed much passion, and thought to have punished him, but was prevailed upon to desist at that time.

The ensuing year, lord Darnley being married to the queen, was advised by the Protestants about court to hear Mr. Knox preach, as
 thinking

thinking it would contribute much to procure the good will of the people. At their desire he went, on the nineteenth of August, to the high church ; but was so much offended at the sermon, that he complained to the council, who immediately ordered Mr. Knox before them, and forbid him to preach for several days.

The general assembly, which met in December this year, in their fourth session, appointed Mr. Knox to draw up a consolatory letter in their name, to encourage the ministers to continue in their vocations, which many were under temptation to leave for want of subsistence ; and to exhort the professors of the realm to supply their necessities. He was also appointed by this assembly to visit, preach, and plant, the kirks of the south, till the next assembly, and to remain as long as he could at that work. He requested the general assembly, which met at Edinburgh, in December, 1566, that he might have leave to go to England to visit two of his sons, and for other necessary affairs in that kingdom ; and the members being informed, that some worthy and learned divines in England were prosecuted by the bishops, because they refused to use the ecclesiastical habits, caused a letter to be written, and sent by Mr. Knox, wherein, with great earnestness, they intreated, that they might deal gently with such ministers as were scrupulous,

In 1567, Mr. Knox preached a sermon at the coronation of king James VI. of Scotland, and afterwards the First of Great-Britain. This year is very remarkable in Scotland, upon account of the great turn of affairs there by queen Mary's resigning the government, and by the appointment of the earl of Murray to be regent. The first parliament which was called by the earl met upon the fifteenth of December. It was a very numerous convention of all the estates, and Mr. Knox preached a very zealous sermon at the opening of it; and he was extremely afflicted at the regent's death in 1569.

In 1571, the Hamiltons and others, who had entered into a combination against the earl of Lenox, then regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a council was held by them in the castle on the fourth of May; where the laird of Grange, captain of the castle, proposed that they might give security for the person of Mr. Knox, which was also much desired by the town's people. The Hamiltons answered, That they could not promise him security upon their honour, because there were many in the town who loved him not, besides other disorderly people that might do him harm without their knowledge.

Upon this answer, which plainly shewed no good intention to Mr. Knox, his friends in the town, with Mr. Craig, his colleague, at their head, entreated him to leave the place;

in compliance with their requests, he left Edinburgh on the fifth of May; he went first to Abbotshall in Fife, and thence to St. Andrew's, where he remained till the twenty-third of August 1572.

This year there was a convention of the ministers at Leith, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of episcopacy should be introduced into the church, which was zealously opposed by our reformer. The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they sent two of their number to St. Andrews, to invite Mr. Knox to return to them, and to ask his advice about the choice of another minister to assist him during the time of the troubles. The superintendant of Lothian was with them, when they presented the letter; which, when Mr. Knox had perused, he consented to return, upon this condition, that he should not be desired in any sort to cease speaking against the treasonable dealings of those who held out the castle of Edinburgh; and this he desired them to signify to the whole brethren, lest they should afterwards repent; and, after his return, he repeated these words more than once, to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit; they answered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but desired him to speak according to his conscience, as in former times. They also requested his advice upon the choice of a minister; and, after
some

some debates, they agreed upon Mr. James Lawson, sub-principal of the king's college at Aberdeen.

Mr. Knox left St. Andrew's on the seven-teenth of August, and came to Leith on the twenty-third. Upon the last day of that month, he preached in the great kirk ; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he desired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but by an hundred persons; which was granted: after which Mr. Knox continued to preach in the Tolbooth as long as he had strength ; but his health received a great shock from the news of the massacre of the protestants at Paris, about this time. However, he introduced it into his next sermon, with his usual denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he desired the French ambassador, monsieur La Crocque, might be acquainted with. On sunday November the ninth 1572, he admitted Mr. Lawson a minister of Edinburgh. But his voice was so weak, that very few could hear him ; he declared the mutual duty between a minister and his flock ; he praised God, that had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that God might augment his graces to him a thousand-fold above that which he had, if it were his pleasure, and ended with pronouncing the blessing.

From this day he hastened to his end. Upon the eleventh, he was seized with a violent cough.

cough and great pains of the body; so that upon the thirteenth, he was obliged to give over his ordinary reading of the scriptures. During his sickness he was visited occasionally by the earl of Morton, and others of the principal nobility and gentry. But his decay still increasing, he resigned his breath on Monday the twenty fourth of November 1572, with great piety, resignation, and trust in God; such as well became the principal director of the reformation of religion in Scotland. He was interred on the twenty sixth, in the kirk-yard of St. Giles's, the corpse being attended by several lords who were then in Edinburgh, and particularly the earl of Morton, that day chosen regent, who, as soon as he was laid in his grave, said, "There lies a man who never in his life feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dug and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in a special manner, when his very life was fought.

As to his character, he was one of those extraordinary persons, of whom few, if any, are observed to speak with sufficient temper. All that we find of him in this way, are either extravagant encomiums on one hand, or senseless invectives on the other. We shall therefore conclude what relates thereto in the words of Mr. Stripe, who hath dealt candidly with his memory; and having spoken of his residence in England and Geneva, closes his account

count thus: “ In May 1559, he returned to his own country to forward the reformation, where he lived to the day of his death ; but his violent methods and disloyal behaviour towards the queen of Scots, is generally condemned. As to his family, he was twice married ; first, to Margery Bowes, an Englishwoman ; by whom he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleagan, and, we must not omit to mention that the ingenious Mr. Robertson, draws a favourable picture of John Knox, and attributes most of the exceptionable parts of his character to the spirit of the times he lived in.





Edmund Spenser



THE LIFE OF

EDMUND SPENCER.

EDMUND SPENCER was born in London, and educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge. The accounts of the birth and family of this great man are but obscure and imperfect, and at his first setting out into life, his fortune and interest seem to have been very inconsiderable. After he had some time continued at the college, and laid that foundation of learning, which, joined to his natural genius, qualified him to rise to so great an excellency, he stood for a fellowship, in competition with Mr. Andrews, a gentleman in holy orders, and afterwards lord bishop of Winchester, in which he was unsuccessful. This disappointment, joined with the narrowness of his circumstances, forced him to quit the university; and we find him next residing at the house of a friend in the north, where he fell in love with his Rosalind, whom he finely celebrates in his pastoral poems, and of whose cruelty he hath written such pathetic complaints. It is probable that about this time Spencer's genius began first to distinguish itself; for, *The Shepherd's Calendar*, which is so full of his unprosperous passion for Rosalind,

was amongst the first of his works of note, and the supposition is strengthened, by the consideration of poetry's being frequently the offspring of love and retirement. This work he addressed, by a short dedication, to the Mæcenæ of his age, the immortal Sir Philip Sidney. This gentleman was now in the highest reputation, both for wit and gallantry, and the most popular of all the courtiers of his age; and, as he was himself a writer, and especially excelled in the fabulous or inventive part of poetry; it is no wonder he was struck with our author's genius, and became sensible of his merit. A story is told of him by Mr. Hughes, which I shall present to the reader, as it serves to illustrate the great worth and penetration of Sidney, as well as the excellent genius of Spencer. It is said that our poet was a stranger to this gentleman, when he began to write his *Fairy Queen*, and that he took occasion to go to Leicester-house, and introduce himself, by sending in to Mr. Sidney a copy of the ninth canto of the first book of that poem. Sidney was much surprised with the description of despair in that canto, and is said to have shewn an unusual kind of transport on the discovery of so new and uncommon a genius. After he had read some stanzas, he turned to his steward, and bid him give the person who brought those verses fifty pounds; but upon reading the next stanza, he ordered the sum to be doubled. The steward was no less surprised than his master, and thought

thought it his duty to make some delay in executing so sudden and lavish a bounty; but upon reading one stanza more, Mr. Sidney raised the gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the steward to give it immediately, lest as he read further he might be tempted to give away his whole estate. From this time he admitted the author to his acquaintance and conversation, and prepared the way for his being known and received at court. Though this seemed a promising omen, to be thus introduced to court, yet he did not instantly reap any advantage from it. He was indeed created poet laureat to queen Elizabeth, but he for some time wore a barren laurel, and possessed the place without the pension. Lord-treasurer Burleigh, under whose displeasure Spencer laboured, took care to intercept the queen's favours to this unhappy great man. As misfortunes have the most influence on elegant and polished minds, so it was no wonder that Spencer was much depressed by the cold reception he met with from the great; a circumstance which not a little detracts from the merit of the ministers then in power: for I know not if all the political transactions of Burleigh are sufficient to counterballance the infamy affixed on his name, by prosecuting resentment against distressed merit, and keeping him, who was the ornament of the times, as much distant as possible from the approach of competence.

These

These discouragements greatly sunk our author's spirit, and accordingly we find him pouring out his heart, in complaints of so injurious and undeserved a treatment; which, probably, would have been less unfortunate to him, if his noble patron, Sir Philip Sidney, had not been so much absent from court, as by his employments abroad, and the share he had in the Low-Country wars, he was obliged to be. In a poem, called, *The Ruins of Time*, which was written some time after Sidney's death, the author seems to allude to the discouragement I have mentioned, in the following stanza:

- " O grief of griefs, O gall of all good hearts !
 " To see that virtue should despised be,
 " Of such as first were rais'd for virtue's parts,
 " And now broad-spreading like an aged
 tree,
 " Let none shoot up that nigh them planted
 be;
 " O let not these, of whom the muse is scorned,
 " Alive, or dead, be by the muse adorned.

These lines are certainly meant to reflect on Burleigh for neglecting him, and the lord-treasurer afterwards conceived a hatred towards him for the satire he apprehended was levelled at him, in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*. In this poem, the author has, in the most lively manner, pointed out the misfortune of depending on court-favours. The lines which follow are, among others, very remarkable.

" Full

- “ Full little knowest thou, that hast not try’d,
 “ What hell it is in suing long to bide,
 “ To close good days, that nights be better spent,
 “ To waste long nights in pensive discontent ;
 “ To speed to day, to be put back to-morrow,
 “ To find in hope, to pine with fear and sorrow ;
 “ To have thy prince’s grace, yet want her
 peers,
 “ To have thy asking, yet wait many years.
 “ To fret thy soul with crosses, and with care,
 “ To eat thy heart, through comfortless de-
 spair ;
 “ To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
 “ To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.”

As this was very much the author’s case, it probably was the particular passage in that poem which gave offence ; for as Hughes very elegantly observes, even the sighs of a miserable man, are sometimes resented as an affront, by him who is the occasion of them. There is a little story, which seems founded on the grievance just now mentioned, and is related by some as a matter of fact commonly reported at that time. It is said, that upon his presenting some poems to the queen, she ordered him a gratuity of one hundred pounds, but the lord-treasurer Burleigh objecting to it, said, with some scorn, of the poet, of whose merit he was totally ignorant, “ What, all this for a song ? ” The queen replied, “ Then give him what is reason.” Spencer for some time waited, but had the mortification to find

himself disappointed of her majesty's bounty. Upon this he took an opportunity to present a paper to queen Elizabeth, in the manner of a petition, in which he reminded her of the order she had given, in the following lines :

“ I was promis'd on a time
 “ To have reason for my rhyme,
 “ From that time, unto this season,
 “ I receiv'd nor rhyme, nor reason.

This paper produced the intended effect, and the queen, after sharply reproofing the treasurer, immediately directed the payment of the hundred pounds she had first ordered. In the year 1579 he was sent abroad by the earl of Leicester, as appears by a copy of Latin verses, dated from Leicester-house, and addressed to his friend Mr. Hervey ; but Mr. Hughes has not been able to determine in what service he was employed.

When the lord Grey of Wilton was chosen deputy of Ireland, Spencer was recommended to him as secretary. This drew him over to another kingdom, and settled him in a scene of life very different from what he had formerly known, but, that he understood, and discharged his employment with skill and capacity, appears sufficiently by his discourse on the state of Ireland, in which there are many solid and judicious remarks, that shew him no less qualified for the business of the state, than for the entertainment of the muses. His life
 was

was now freed from the difficulties under which it had hitherto struggled, and his services to the crown received a reward of a grant from queen Elizabeth of three thousand acres of land in the county of Cork. His house was at Kilcolman, and the river Mulla, which he has, more than once, so finely introduced in his poems, ran through his grounds. Much about this time he contracted an intimate friendship with the great and learned Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then a captain under the lord Grey. The poem of Spencer's, called, Colin Clout's come home again, in which Sir Walter Raleigh is described under the name of the Shepherd of the Ocean, is a beautiful memorial of this friendship, which took its rise from a similarity of taste in the polite arts, and which he agreeably describes, with a softness and delicacy peculiar to him. Sir Walter afterward promoted him in queen Elizabeth's esteem, through whose recommendations she read his writings.

He now fell in love a second time, with a merchant's daughter, in which, says Mr. Cooper, author of *The Muse's Library*, he was more successful than in his first amour. He wrote upon this occasion a beautiful epithalamium, with which he presented the lady on the bridal-day, and has consigned that day and her to immortality. In this pleasant, easy situation our excellent poet finished the celebrated poem of *The Fairy Queen*, which was begun and continued at different intervals

of time, and of which he at first published only the three first books; to these were added three more, in a following edition, but the six last books (excepting the two cantos of mutability) were unfortunately lost by his servant, whom he had in haste sent before him into England; for though he passed his life for some time very serenely here, yet a train of misfortunes still pursued him, and in the rebellion of the earl of Desmond he was plundered and deprived of his estate. This distress forced him to return to England, where, for the want of his noble patron, Sir Philip Sidney, he was plunged into new calamities, as that gallant hero died of the wounds he had received at Zutphen. It is said by Mr. Hughes, that Spencer survived his patron about twelve years, and died the same year with his powerful enemy the lord Burleigh, 1598. He was buried, says he, in Westminster-Abbey, near the famous Geoffery Chaucer, as he had desired; his obsequies were attended by the poets of that time, and others, who paid the last honours to his memory. Several copies of verses were thrown after him into his grave, and his monument was erected at the charge of the famous Robert Devereux, the unfortunate earl of Essex.

This is the account given by the editor of the death of Spencer, but there is some reason to believe that he spoke only upon imagination, as he has produced no authority to support his opinion, especially as I find in a
book

book of great reputation, another opinion, delivered upon probable grounds. The ingenious Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, a noble wit of Scotland, had an intimate correspondence with all the geniuses of his time who resided at London, particularly the famous Ben Johnson, who had so high an opinion of Mr. Drummond's abilities, that he took a journey into Scotland in order to converse with him, and stayed some time at his house at Hawthornden. After Ben Johnson departed, Mr. Drummond, careful to retain what passed between them, wrote down the heads of their conversation; which he published amongst his poems and History of the Five James's, kings of Scotland. Amongst other particulars there is this: "Ben Johnson told me that Spencer's goods were robbed by the Irish in Desmond's rebellion, his house and a little child of his burnt, and he and his wife nearly escaped; that he afterwards died in King-street by absolute want of bread; and, that he refused twenty pieces sent him by the earl of Essex, and gave this answer to the person who brought them, That he was sure he had no time to spend them." Mr. Drummond's works, from whence I extracted the above, are printed in a thin quarto, and may be seen at Mr. Wilson's, at Plato's head in the Strand. I have been thus particular in the quotation, that no one may suspect such extraordinary circumstances to be advanced upon imagination. In the inscription on his tomb

in Westminster-Abbey, it is said he was born in the year 1510, and died in 1596; Cambden says 1598 : but in regard to his birth they must both be mistaken, for it is by no means probable he was born so early as 1510, if we may judge by the remarkable circumstance of his standing for a fellowship in competition with Mr. Andrews, who was not born, according to Hughes, till 1555. Besides, if this account of his birth be true, he must have been sixty years old when he first published his Shepherd's Calendar, an age not very proper for love ; and in this case it is no wonder that the beautiful Rosalind slighted his addresses ; and he must have been seventy years old when he entered into business under lord Grey, who was created Deputy of Ireland in 1580: for which reasons we may fairly conclude, that the inscription is false, either by the error of the carver, or perhaps it was put on when the monument was repaired. There are very few particulars of this great poet, and it must be a mortification to all lovers of the muses, that no one can be found concerning the life of one, who was the greatest ornament of his profession. No writer ever found a nearer way to the heart than he, and his verses have a peculiar happiness of recommending the author to our friendship, as well as raising our admiration ; one cannot read him without fancying ones self transported into fairy-land, and there conversing with the graces in that enchanted region. In elegance
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of thinking and fertility of imagination, few of our English authors have approached him, and no writers have such power as he to awake the spirit of poetry in others. Cowley owns that he derived inspiration from him; and I have heard the celebrated Mr. James Thompson, the author of the Seasons, and justly esteemed one of our best descriptive poets, say, that he formed himself upon Spencer; and how closely he pursued his model, and how nobly he has imitated him, whoever reads his *Castle of Indolence with Taste*, will readily confess. Mr. Addison, in his *Characters of the English poets*, addressed to Mr. Sacheverel, thus speaks of Spencer:

“ Old Spencer next, warm’d with poetic rage,
 “ In antient tales amus’d a barbarous age;
 “ An age, that yet uncultivate and rude,
 “ Where’er the poet’s fancy led, pursu’d
 “ Thro’ pathless fields, and unfrequented floods,
 “ To dens of dragons, and enchanted woods.
 “ But now the mistic tale, that pleas’d of yore,
 “ Can charm an understanding age no more;
 “ The long-spun allegories, fulsome grow,
 “ While the dull moral lies too plain below.
 “ We view well pleas’d at distance, all the
 fights,
 “ Of arms, and palfries, battles, fields, and
 fights,
 “ And damsels in distress, and courteous
 knights.

“ But when we look too near, the shades decay,
 “ And all the pleasing landscape fades away.”

It is agreed on all hands, that the distresses of our author helped to shorten his days ; and indeed, when his extraordinary merit is considered, he had the hardest measure of any of our poets. It appears from different accounts, that he was of an amiable, sweet disposition, humane and generous in his nature. Besides the *Fairy Queen*, we find he had written several other pieces, of which we can only trace out the titles. Amongst these the most considerable were nine comedies, in imitation of the comedies of his admired Ariosto, inscribed with the names of the nine muses. The rest which we have mentioned in his letters, and those of his friends, are his *Dying Pelicane*, his *Pageants*, *Stommatata*, *Dudleyana*, *The Canticles paraphrased*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Seven Psalms*, *House of our Lord*, *Sacrifice of a Sinner*, *Purgatory*, *A Seven Night's Slumber*, *The Court of Cupid* and *Hell of Lovers*. It is likewise said he had written a treatise in prose, called, *The English Poet* ; as for the *epithalamium*, *Thamesis*, and his *Dreams*, both mentioned by himself in one of his letters, Mr. Hughes thinks they are still preserved, though under different names. It appears from what is said of the *Dreams*, by his friend Mr. Hervey, that they were in imitation of Petrarch's *Visions*. To produce authorities
 in

in favour of Spencer, as a poet, I should reckon an affront to his memory ; that is a tribute I shall only pay to inferior wits, whose highest honour it is to be mentioned with respect, by geniuses of a superior class.

The works of Spencer will never perish, though he has introduced unnecessarily many obsolete terms into them, there is a flow of poetry, an elegance of sentiment, a fund of imagination, and an enchanting enthusiasm, which will ever secure him the applauses of posterity, while any lovers of poetry remain. We find little account of the family which Spencer left behind him, only that in a few particulars of his life, prefixed to the last folio edition of his works, it is said, that his great-grandson, Hugolin Spencer, after the restoration of king Charles II. was restored by the court of claims to so much of the lands as could be found to have been his ancestor's. There is another remarkable passage, of which, says Hughes, I can give the reader much better assurance : that a person came over from Ireland, in king William's time, to solicit the same affair, and brought with him letters of recommendation, as a descendent of Spencer. His name procured him a favourable reception, and applied himself particularly to Mr. Congreve, by whom he was generously recommended to the favour of the earl of Halifax, who was then at the head of the treasury ; and by that means he obtained his suit. This man was somewhat advanced in years, and

might be the same mentioned before, who had possibly recovered only some part of his estate at first, or had been disturbed in the possession of it. He could give no account of the works of his ancestor's, which are wanting, and which are therefore in all probability irrecoverably lost. The following stanzas are said to be those with which Sir Philip Sidney was first struck.

From him returning, sad and comfortless,
 As on the way together we did fare,
 We met that villain (God from him me bless
 That cursed wight, whom I escaped whylear,
 A man of hell, that calls himself despair;
 Who first us greets, and after fair areeds
 Of tidings strange, and of adventures rare,
 So creeping close, as snake in hidden weeds,
 Inquireth of our states, and of our knightly
 deeds.
 Which when he knew, and felt our feeble
 hearts
 Embos'd with bole, and bitter biting grief,
 Which love had lanced with his deadly darts,
 With wounding words, and terms of foul
 reproof,
 He pluck'd from us all hope of due relief;
 That erst us held in love of ling'ring life;
 Then hopeless, heartless, 'gan the cunning
 thief,
 Persuade us did, to stint all farther strife:
 To me he lent this rope, to him a rusty knife.

The following is the picture.

The darksome cave they enter, where they find,
That curfed man, low fitting on the ground,
Musing full sadly in his sullen mind;

His greasy locks, long growing, and unbound,
Disorder'd hung about his shoulders round,
And hid his face; through which his hol-
low eyne,

Look'd deadly dull, and stared as astound;

His raw-bone cheeks thro' penury and pine,
Were shrunk into his jaws, as he did neverdine.

His garments nought, but many ragged clouts,
With thornstogether pinn'd and patched was,

The which his naked sides he wrapt about;

And him beside, there lay upon the grass
A dreary corse, whose life away did pass,

All wallowed in his own, yet lukewarm
blood,

That from his wound yet welled fresh alas;

In which a rusty knife fast fixed stood,
And made an open passage for the gushing flood.

It would perhaps be an injury to Spencer to dismiss his life without a few remarks on that great work of his which has placed him among the foremost of our poets, and discovered so elevated and sublime a genius. The work I mean is his allegorical poem of the Fairy Queen. Sir William Temple, in his Essay on Poetry, says, "That the religion

of the Gentiles had been woven into the texture of all the ancient poetry with an agreeable mixture, which made the moderns affect to give that of Christianity a place also in their poems; but the true religion was not found to become fictions so well as the false one had done, and all their attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase religion than heighten poetry. Spencer endeavoured to supply this with morality, and to make instruction, instead of story, the subject of an epic poem. His execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high. But his design was poor; and his moral lay so bare, that it lost the effect. It is true, the pill was gilded, but so thin, that the colour and the taste were easily discovered."—Mr. Rymer asserts, that Spencer may be reckoned the first of our heroic poets. He had a large spirit, a sharp judgment, and a genius for heroic poetry, perhaps above any that ever wrote since Virgil, but our misfortune is, he wanted a true idea, and lost himself by following an unfaithful guide. Though besides Homer and Virgil he had read Tasso, yet he rather suffered himself to be misled by Ariosto, with whom blindly rambling on marvels and adventures, he makes no conscience of probability; all is fanciful and chimerical, without any uniformity, or without any foundation in truth; in a word, his poem is perfect Fairy-land." Thus far Sir William Temple, and Mr. Rymer; let us now attend to the opinion of a greater name.

name. Mr. Dryden, in his dedication of Juvenal, thus proceeds: "The English have only to boast of Spencer and Milton in heroic poetry, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect poets, and yet both of them are liable to many censures; for there is no uniformity in the design of Spencer; he aims at the accomplishment of no one action; he raises up a hero for every one of his adventures, and endows each of them with some particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without subordination, or preference: every one is valiant in his own legend; only we must do him the justice to observe, that magnanimity, which is the character of prince Arthur, shines throughout the whole poem, and succours the rest when they are in distress. The original of every knight was then living in the court of queen Elizabeth, and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought most conspicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account. Had he lived to have finished his poem in the remaining legends, it had certainly been more of a piece; but could not have been perfect, because the model was not true. But prince Arthur, or his chief patron, Sir Philip Sidney, dying before him, deprived the poet both of means and spirit to accomplish his design. For the rest, his obsolete language, and ill choice of his stanzas, are faults both of the second magnitude; for notwithstanding the first, he

he is still intelligible, at least after a little practice : and, for the last, he is more to be admired ; that, labouring under such disadvantages, his verses are so numerous, so various, and so harmonious, that only Virgil, whom he has professedly imitated, hath surpassed him among the Romans ; and only Waller among the English."

Mr. Hughe's, in his essay on allegorical poetry, prefixed to Spencer's works, tells us, that this poem is conceived, wrought up, and coloured with stronger fancy, and discovers more the particular genius of Spencer, than any of his other writings ; and, having observed that Spencer, in a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, calls it, a continued allegory, and dark conceit, he gives us some remarks on allegorical poetry in general ; defining allegory to be a fable, or story, in which, under imaginary persons, or things, is shadowed some real action, or instructive moral ; " as I think," says he, " it is somewhere very shortly defined by Plutarch. It is that, in which one thing is related, and another thing understood. It is a kind of poetical picture, or hieroglyphic ; which, by its apt resemblance, conveys instruction to the mind by an analogy to the senses ; and so amuses the fancy while it informs the understanding. Every allegory has therefore two senses, the literal and mystical. The literal sense is like a dream, or vision, of which the mystical sense is the true meaning, or interpretation. This will be
more

more clearly apprehended by considering, that, as a simile is a more extended metaphor, so an allegory is a kind of continued simile, or an assemblage of similitudes drawn out at full length.

“ The chief merit of this poem, no doubt, consists in that surprising vein of fabulous invention which runs through it, and enriches it every where with imaginary descriptions, more than we meet with in any modern poem. The author seems to be possessed of a kind of poetical magic ; and the figures he calls up to our view, rise up so thick upon us, that we are at once pleased and distracted with the inexhaustible variety of them ; so that his faults may, in a manner, be imputed to his excellencies. His abundance betrays him into excess ; and his judgment is overborn by the torrent of his imagination. That which seems the most liable to exception, in this work, is the model of it, and the choice the author has made of so romantic a story. The several books rather appear to be so many several poems, than one entire fable. Each of them hath its peculiar knight, and is independant of the rest ; and, though some of the persons make their appearance in different books, yet this hath very little effect in concealing them. Prince Arthur, indeed, is the principal person, and has therefore a share given him in every legend : but his part is not considerable enough in any one of them. He appears and vanishes again like a spirit ; and
we

we lose sight of him too soon to consider him as the hero of the poem.

“ These are the most obvious defects in the fable of the Fairy Queen. The want of unity in the story makes it difficult for the reader to carry it in his mind, and distracts too much his attention to the several parts of it ; and, indeed, the whole frame of it would appear monstrous, were it to be examined by the rules of epic poetry, as they have been drawn from the practice of Homer and Virgil ; but, as it is plain the author never designed it by these rules, I think it ought rather to be called a poem of a particular kind, describing, in a series of allegorical adventures, or episodes, the most noted virtues and vices.

“ To compare it therefore with the models of antiquity, would be like drawing a parellel between the Roman and Gothic architecture. In the first, there is doubtless a more natural grandeur and simplicity ; in the latter we find great mixtures of beauty and barbarism, yet assisted by the invention of a variety of inferior ornaments ; and, though the former is more majestic in the whole, the latter may be very surprising and agreeable in its parts.”



S^r John Perrot.

Tringham Sculp



THE LIFE OF

SIR JOHN PERROT.

SIR JOHN PERROT was the the son of Thomas Perrot, esq. of Irlington, in Pembroke-shire, in South Wales, by his wife Alice, sole heiress of John Pechton, esq. With regard to his education, it was such as suited his quality and fortune till he was about twelve years of age, when he was sent up to London, to the marquis of Winchester's house, the lord high-treasurer under Henry VIII. there being, at the same time, under the marquis's patronage, for their preferment, the earl of Oxenford, and lord Abergavenny; the last of which was so fierce and hasty, that no servant or gentleman in the family could continue quiet for him: but, when young Perrot came, who, to an uncommon strength and lustiness, added a spirit equally bold, his lordship was told there was now a youth arrived who would be more than a match for him. "Is there such a one?" said he. "Let me see him." Upon which, being brought where Perrot was, for the first salutation, he asked him, "What, Sir, are you the kill-cow that must match me?" "No," said Mr. Perrot, "I am no butcher; but, if you use me

me no better, you shall find I can give a butcher's blow," "Can you so?" said he, "I will see that." And so, being both angry, they fell to blows, till lord Abergavenny found that he had his hands full, and was willing to be parted from him: after which, the serving-men, and others, when they found the young lord unruly, would threaten him with Mr. Perrot.

At length, however, they grew into great friendship, insomuch that they were seldom asunder, till once they determined to make a banquet, and invite their friends thereto. But being not so rich as to be owners of a cupboard of plate, they provided good store of glasses. Before their guests came, they fell into some contention, and they took the glasses and broke them about one another's ears; that, when the guests came, they found, instead of wine, blood sprinkled about the chamber. Thus the banquet was spoiled, the two young gentlemen lost their friends thanks, and broke the league that was begun betwixt them.

Shortly after, it was Mr. Perrot's fortune to go into Southwark (as it was supposed to a house of pleasure) taking only a page with him, where he fell out with two of the king's yeomen. They both drew on him; but he defended himself so valiantly, that the king, being then at Winchester-house, near the place, was told how a young gentleman had fought with two of his majesty's servants. The king being desirous to see him, sent for him,

him, demanded his name, country, and kindred. This being boldly by him related, it pleased the king very well to see so much valour and audacity in so young a man; and therefore he desired him to repair to the court, where he would bestow preferment on him. But, not long after, king Henry died; so Mr. Perrot lost that hope, remaining, for a time, till the coronation of king Edward, at the marquis of Winchester's house, as before; where he spent his time in such exercises as youth is accustomed to. But, when Mr. Perrot came to king's Edward's court, for the extraordinary comeliness of his person, and the forwardness of his spirit, the young prince took such a liking to him, that he caused him to be made one of the knights of the Bath. The young king had a very good opinion of Sir John Perrot, and he gained the good liking of the whole court by his valour, activity, strength, and expertness in acts of chivalry. When the marquis of Southampton went into France to treat of a marriage betwixt king Edward and the French king's daughter, Sir John Perrot accompanied him.

The marquis being a nobleman that delighted much in all activities, keeping the most excellent men that could be found in most kinds of sport, the king of France understanding it, brought him to hunt the wild boar; and, being in chace, it fell out, that a gentleman, charging the boar, did not hit right, so that the beast was ready to run in upon him.

Sir

Sir John Perrot perceiving him to be in danger, came in to his rescue; and, with a broad sword, gave the boar such a blow as almost parted the head from the shoulders.

The king of France, who stood in sight of this, came presently to him, took him about the middle, and, embracing him, called him Beaufoile. Now he supposed that the king came to try his strength; so, taking his majesty also about the middle, he lifted him up from the ground: with which the king was nothing displeased, but proffered him a good pension to serve him. Sir John Perrot, having the French tongue, answered, That, he humbly thanked his majesty, but he was a gentleman that had means of his own; or, if not, he knew he served a gracious prince who would not see him want, and to whom he had vowed his service during life.

Shortly after, Sir John returned from France, and came to the court of England, where he lived at too high a rate; so that he grew into debt, and began to mortgage some of his lands. Yet he at length began to bethink himself, and grew much agrieved at his own prodigality; insomuch that he once walked out of the court, into a place where commonly the king came about the same hour; and there he began, (either as knowing that the king would come that way, or else by chance) to complain against himself to himself; and entered, as it were, into a disputation, whether he

he were best to follow, or leave, the court ; for he feared that, should he continue, the king being young, and under government, if his majesty should be pleased to grant him any thing, in recompence of his service ; yet his governors, and the privy-council, might gain-say it ; and so he should rather run into farther arrears, than recover his decayed fortunes : but, if he retired into the country, he might live at less charge, or betake himself to the wars, where he might get some place of command to save his revenues and pay his debts.

As he was thus debating the matter, the king came behind him, and overheard most of what he said. At length his majesty stepped before him, saying, “ How now, Perrot, what is the matter that you make this great moan ? ” To whom Sir John answered, “ And it like your majesty, I did not think that your highness had been there. ” “ Yes,” said the king, “ we heard you well enough : and have you spent your living in our service ; and is the king so young, and under government, that he cannot give you any thing in recompence ? Spy out somewhat, and you shall see whether the king hath not power to bestow it on you. ” Then he most humbly thanked his majesty, and shortly after found out a concealment ; which, as soon as he sought, the king bestowed it on him ; wherewith he paid the most part of his debts, and ever after became a better husband.

This

This story Sir John would sometimes tell his friends, acknowledging it a great blessing.

After the death of king Edward, queen Mary, his sister, coming to the crown, Sir John Perrot continued still at court, and was well accepted among the nobility. The queen also favoured him, but would say, He did smell of the smoak, meaning thereby his religion, for which he was called in question by means of one Gaderne, the queen's servant, and his countryman; who accused Sir John, That he kept certain Protestants, then called hereticks, at his house in Wales. Upon which accusation, he did not deny his religion, but was committed to the Fleet; yet being well friendéd, he was allowed to have council come to him; and, by means he made to the queen, he was released.

Within a while he went to St. Quintin, where he had a command under the earl of Pembroke; who loved him so far, that there was never any unkindness betwixt them but once; when queen Mary gave special charge to the earl, to see that no hereticks should remain in Wales. When his lordship received this command, coming home to his lodging, where Sir John Perrot lay with his son, Sir Edward Herbert, the earl acquainted him what the queen had given him in charge; and told him, as her majesty had laid this burden on his back, "I must," said he, "cousin Perrot, ease myself, and lay part of it on you for those

those parts whereabouts you dwell." To which Sir John answered, "My lord, I hope you know you may command my life; but leave me to enjoy my conscience." To which the earl replied somewhat angrily, "What, Sir John Perrot, will you be an heretic with the rest?" "Not so, my lord," said he, "for I hope my religion is as sound as yours, or any man's:" and so, with some other cholerick speeches, that conference ended.

In the morning Sir John rose very early, went abroad, and returned again by the time the earl was making him ready, thinking that all unkindness had been passed; but Pembroke, as soon as he spied him, cry'd, "Sir John Perrot, who sent for you?" He answered, "My lord, I did not think you would have asked me that question; and, if I had imagined so much, you should have sent for me twice before I had come once; and shall do so before I come hither again." As he was turning about to go out of doors, the earl called upon him to stay, for he would speak with him; so they fell into foul words, and from foul words to such foul play, that, if they had not been parted, much hurt might have been done. But Sir John Perrot was fain to depart, not being able to make his party good in that place.

This was not so privately done, or so secretly kept, but news thereof came speedily to court; and the cause of the quarrel being known to be religion, the queen was greatly displeased;

displeased ; infomuch, that Sir John, having at that time a fuit for the caſtle and lordſhip of Carew, and a promiſe of the grant being given him ; when he came next to the queen, ſhe would ſcarce look on him, much leſs give him any good answer ; which he perceiving, determined not to be baulked with auſtere looks, but preſſed ſo near to the queen, that he fell upon her train, beſeeching her majeſty to remember her promiſe made to him for Carew ; wherewith ſhe ſeemed highly offended, and in angry ſort asked, “ What ! Perrot, will you offer violence to our perſon ? ” Then he beſought of her pardon for his boldneſs ; but ſhe departed with much indignation. But, within a ſhort time, Sir John Perrot found ſuch friends about the queen, that ſhe was content to remit what was paſt, in hope he would be reformed in religion, and to refer his ſuit unto the lords of the privy-council.

When he came before the lords of the council to know their pleaſures, whether he ſhould have Carew, according to the queen’s promiſe, the biſhop of Wincheſter began very ſharply to censure him, ſaying, “ Sir John Perrot, do you come to ſeek ſuits of the queen ? I tell you, except you alter your heretical religion, it were more fit the queen ſhould beſtow fag-gots than any living on you ; ” and ſo he paſſed on with a very ſevere ſentence againſt him. But, when it came to the turn of the earl of Pembroke to deliver his opinion, he

he spoke thus, as Sir John Perrot himself related it, " My lords, I must tell you my opinion of this man, and of the matter. For the man, I think he would, at this time, if he could, eat my heart with salt ; but yet, notwithstanding his stomach towards me, I will give him his due ; I hold him to be a man of good worth, and one who hath deserved of her majesty in her service, as good a matter as this which he seeketh ; and will, no doubt, deserve better if he reform his religion : therefore, since the queen hath passed her gracious promise, I see no reason but he should have that which he seeketh." When they heard the earl of Pembroke so favourable, who they thought would have been most vehement against him, all the rest were content ; and so her majesty shortly after granted him his suit ; and he ever acknowledged himself much beholden to the earl of Pembroke ; who, in this, as in all things else, shewed himself most honourable.

When queen Mary had run out the race of mortality, her sister succeeding her, Sir John Perrot was appointed one of the four to carry the canopy over queen Elizabeth at her coronation.

In the first year of Elizabeth's reign, Francis II. king of France, was killed by accident at a tournament ; which the queen having speedy notice of, proposing either to comfort the French ambassador, then at the court, for

the death of his master, or to conceal the matter from him as long as she could, since he then seemed ignorant of it; she took him with her into the park at Greenwich, where tents were set up, and a banquet provided.

As she passed through the park gate, a page presented a speech to her, signifying, that there were certain knights come from a far country, who had dedicated their services to their several mistresses, being ladies for beauty, virtue, and other excellencies, incomparable; and, therefore, they had vowed to advance their fame through the world, and to adventure combat with such as should be so hardy as to affirm, that there were any ladies so excellent as the saints which they served. And, hearing great fame of a lady which kept her court thereabouts, both for her own excellency, and the worthiness of many renowned knights which she kept, they were come to try, whether any of her knights would encounter them for the defence of their mistress's honour.

When this speech was ended, the queen told the page, "Sir Dwarf, you give me very short warning, but I hope your knights shall be answered." And then looking about, she asked the lord-chamberlain, "Shall we be out-bragged by a dwarf?" "No, an it like your majesty," answered he: "Let but a trumpet be sounded, and it shall be seen, that you keep men at arms enough to answer any
proud

proud challenge." Then was the trumpet sounded, and immediately there issued out of the east lane at Greenwich, several pensioners gallantly armed and mounted.

The challengers were, the earl of Ormond, the lord North, and Sir John Perrot. Presently, upon their coming forth, the challengers prepared themselves. Amongst the rest, there was one Mr. Cornwallis, to whose turn it fell, at length, to run against Sir John Perrot. As they both encountered, Sir John, through the unsteadiness of his horse, and uncertainty of courses in the field, chanced to run Mr. Cornwallis through the hose, razing his thigh, and somewhat hurting his horse; wherewith he being offended, and Sir John discontented, as they were both choleric, they fell into a challenge to run with sharp lances, without armor, in the presence of the queen; which her majesty hearing of, she would not suffer; so they were reconciled, and the combat ended after certain courses performed on both sides by the challengers and defendants.

After finishing these exercises, her majesty invited the French ambassador to a banquet provided in a pavilion in the park; but he, having received an account, while there, of the king his master's death, prayed pardon of her majesty, and retired.

After this, Sir John Perrot continued, by interchangeable courses, sometimes at the

court, sometimes in the country, till the year 1572; at which time he was made first lord-president of Munster, in Ireland; being then a province much disordered and desolate, wasted by means of the earl of Desmond, but especially by the merciless Fitzmorris, the earl's lieutenant, who was chief actor in all those cruel devastations. He was a man very valiant, politic, and learned, as any rebel had been of that nation for many years.

Sir John Perrot landed at Waterford the first of March, 1572, being St. David's day; and, within three days, the rebel James Fitzmorris burned the town of Kyllmalog, hanged the sovereign, and others of the townsmen, at the high cross in the market-place, and carried all the plate and wealth of the town with him; with which entertainment Sir John Perrot, the new president, was much discontented, and therefore hastened to Dublin to take his oath of the lord-deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, with purpose to present the rebels with sharp and speedy war at his return from Dublin to Cork, which was about the tenth of April following.

He first gathered and lodged his own companies there, having with him two companies of foot, under the command of captain Bowler and captain Furse, besides two hundred Irish soldiers of Kerne and Galleglassess; also he had with him his own troop of horse, which were of the queen's entertainment; and of his

his own servants one hundred horse; and captain Abflow commanded under him as many.

With these he went to Kyllmalog, the late wasted town, where he lodged himself in a house half burned; and made a proclamation, That as many of the townsmen as fled, should return home; which they did accordingly, and began to build their gates, to repair the town walls and to re-edify their houses.

Before the lord-president's departure from Kyllmalog, one night the cry of the country was up, That the rebels had beset the lord Roch's cattle, burned his barn, slain some of his people, and taken away a great many of his cattle. Upon which the lord-president suddenly rose, armed, took with him his own troop of horse and captain Abflow's, leaving the foot-bands to guard the town, and he pursued the rebels, being in number two hundred, whom he overtook at a place called Knocklonga, within three miles of Arlange Wood. There the rebels run to the bogs, as their best security, and left their prey. The lord-president caused his men to alight from their horses, to rip off their boots, and to leap into the bogs, taking with them their petronels and light-horsemen's staves instead of pikes; with which they charged the enemy, overthrew them, and cut off fifty of their heads; which they carried home with them unto Kyllmalog, and put the heads round

about the cross; which were known by the townsmen that the president sent for from Lymbrick, who had lately lost their goods; and then he restored to the lord Roch all his cattle.

The lord-president, after he had strengthened and comforted the townsmen of Kyllmalog, departed towards Lymbrick; and, on his way, came to a castle of Fybot Burk, who had been in action with James Fitzmorris, but afterward they slew one another. There the president demanded the keys, and that he might enter; which they not only denied, but shut the president's people out of the castle, they having about forty soldiers in it. The president thereupon caused the castle to be so undermined that part of the wall fell to the ground, and killed some of the rebels within. Whereupon the wife of Fybot Burk yielded herself, with her son and the castle, into the hands of the president, who left thirty Englishmen to guard it, and departed to Lymbrick, to receive the lords that came to him; as the earl of Tomond, O'Hones, Desmond, and others; as also to settle that part of the country.

From Lymbrick the lord-president went to Cashill; and, on the way, there was a castle held by the rebels, which he caused to be set on fire by shooting fire to the top, which was covered with thatch. He commanded his men to alight from their horses to do the execution,

ecution, who left their horses with their foot-boys hard by to feed ; but the noise of the castle at its fall, and the sight of the fire, so terrified the horses, that they broke loose from the boys and ran into the woods, where they were taken and carried away by the rebels ; but shortly after the president recovered most of his horses again.

When he came to Cashill, he hanged seven of the graspy merchants, being such as brought bread and aquavita, and other provisions, to the rebels ; the sovereign of the town hardly escaped that punishment. From Cashill the lord-president went to Fether and Clomel, and to Sir Edward Butler's country ; where he took his chief castle with pledges for his fidelity. He also took other holds, and so went up to Carick, the earl of Ormond's house, whom he appointed, after some abode there, to meet him at Cork.

When the president came to Cork, he assembled the chief lords of the province, as the earl of Ormond, Clyncarty, and Tomond ; the lord Bury, the lord Roch, the lord Corfey, Mackarty, Reuch, Gormond Mack-Teage, and almost all the lords, save such as were out in rebellion. He appointed them to gather their forces, and to meet him within a month after, meaning to follow the rebels wheresoever they went ; and so they did.

For, first, the lord-president drew all his forces into the White Knight's country, taking

two of his castles, burned many of his houses, and drove him into the woods. From thence he marched with his power unto Arlaugh woods, being the rebels chief place of strength; and following them there for a while, he returned unto Cork to refresh his men; and they went into Mack Swine's country; there he slew many of the rebels, and hanged as many as he took; spoiled all the enemy's country; and, with continual travel, wore out their provision, having no corn left in the country to make them bread, which the president himself wanted for several days; their chief sustenance being the milk of those cows they had taken; of which they brought two thousand five hundred with them to Cork, after two months travel, pursuing the rebels from place to place.

James Fitzmorris, finding his forces weakened, and, that, being followed without intermission, he could not continue long, except he were supplied with some foreign aid, drew over into Munster five hundred Scottish, Irish, or Red-shanks, out of the islands, with whom he thought himself able to make resistance against the president's power, having one thousand followers of his own. The president hearing of this, sent for the lords, and others, with whom he went against the rebels, and met them in the woods within the county of Limbrick, wherein they had, as it were, intrenched themselves. The lord-president, viewing

viewing the camp, sent them word, that he was come to give them battle, and would stay for them in the plain, if they would come forth and fight with him; but they being unwilling, answered, That there they stayed for him, and from thence they would not go. Which he perceiving, prepared his people to charge them. So he placed the Irish Lords, and others of the better sort, within the body of the main battle, telling them, that he was not willing to expose them to the utmost danger; which he did out of this politic consideration, that the lords, if any of them were ill-minded or fearful, should be kept from running away, and that their followers would stick to it the better, seeing their lords engaged. Which the president had the more reason to do, because of eleven hundred then in his company, three parts at least were Irish: so with this good order and resolution he set on the rebels, who were about fifteen hundred strong, and broke them, killing a hundred and twenty of the rebels and their aiders; whereupon they made their retreat towards the north, and James Fitzmorris grew weak again. From thenceforward the president followed his good fortunes and his foes, with such earnestness that they seldom would come to fight him, except it were in light skirmishes, and that upon great advantage. Which he perceiving, pursued them night and day in person, even in the winter, and lay out many

nights both in frost and snow. Nay once, when following the Kernes through the woods, where they could not ride, the lord-president himself took such pains in marching, that with earnestness of pursuing, and the depth of the foul ways in the midst of winter, he lost one of his shoes, and so went on a pretty way without his shoe, or without feeling the loss of it, till at length it began to pain him so much, that he rested on a gentleman's shoulder, and told him there was somewhat hurt his foot, so lifting up his leg, the gentleman told him, "My lord, you have lost your shoe." "'Tis no matter," said he, "as long as the legs last we will find shoes;" and so, calling for another pair, he marched on still. At another time, being abroad in service, they encamped near a wood, where the president lay in his tent, having for his guides some of his servants, and certain Gallyglasses. The Gallyglasses had gotten a hog, which they roasted after their manner, by a great fire, near the president, and when they had half-roasted it, with half the hair about it, they began to make partition, and one of them in great kindness reached a piece to one of the president's servants, a gentleman and a justice of the peace in his country, the president perceiving it, said, "James, this is good meat in such a place." To whom the gentleman answered, "An it please you, it is good meat here among these men; but if I were at home, I would scarce give it to my dogs.

James

James Fitzmorris, knowing that the lord-president desired nothing more than the finishing of those wars, and the subduing the rebels, made shew that he also was willing to finish the same by single combat, and sent the lord-president word, as believing that his expectation would keep him for a time from farther action ; and so indeed it did : for James Fitzmorris first offered to fight with fifty of his horsemen, against the lord-president and fifty of his, which his lordship willingly accepted ; but when the time came, Fitzmorris sent word that he would willingly fight with the lord-president in single combat, hand to hand. To which message the lord president sent answer, that he would willingly accept his challenge ; the place appointed was at Amely, an old town, six miles from Killmallock. The weapons that were assigned to fight with were, by Fitzmorris's appointment, sword and target, and they should be both clad in Irish troffes, which the president provided of scarlet, and was ready according to appointment, saying, " That although he knew James Fitzmorris to be his inferior in all respects, yet he would reckon it a life well adventured, to deprive such a rebel of his life." But after all James Fitzmorris came not, but sent a cunning excuse, by one Cono Roe Oharnan, an Irish poet, saying, " That he would not fight with the lord-president at all, not so much for fear of his life, as because on his life depended the safety of all his party.

When the lord president heard this, he was much discontented, that he had suffered himself, to be so abused, and vowed, without delay, to "hunt the fox out of his hole." And besides his own diligence, he earnestly encouraged all the noblemen of the country to use their best means for the subduing of that dangerous rebel. And presently he sought after, and at length found out the ringleader, James Fitzmorris, who now drew his breath by shifts and flights, and sent a false spy to the lord-president, with protestations and oaths, that he knew where James Fitzmorris was lodged, with less than thirty persons in his company, and that if the president would come with expedition, he might be sure to take him that night, without danger; and for confirmation he offered not words alone, but the venture of his life to go with him. This being after supper, the president ordered some of his people to arm themselves, and he with them took horse, lest they should lose so good an opportunity as they then hoped for.

They posted to the place where it was said the traitor was so slenderly guarded, but Fitzmorris lay in ambush under a hill, with four or five hundred foot, and above four score horse; whom the president could not spy, till two or three of his horsemen were within reach of the rebels, who charged them; and there the president's secretary, called Trewbrigg, being one of the foremost, was slain, and

and about an hundred pounds of his master's money, which he carried with him taken.

Perceiving how they were intrapped, some would have retired ; but the president answered, That he would not do so, for he had rather die fighting than running away ; and therefore he bid them charge home with him, and he was one of the foremost himself ; so that he encountered with one of the rebels, and run him with his lance through a skirt of mail, unhorsed, and stood over him, ready to strike again as he arose. In the mean time, there came in another horseman of the rebels side, thinking to have run him through behind with his staff overhand, as the manner of the Irish was ; but one Greame, a captain, came in to rescue the president, and ran the rebel through before he could give that deadly blow. With that they charged others afresh, and were furcharged themselves with multitudes, so that the president's horse was almost spent, and yet he would not give over.

Though he was left three times that morning one of the last in the field, still encouraging his men to come up and charge anew, so that he had been slain or taken, if an extraordinary accident had not preserved him. For one captain Bowler, with four more that made themselves ready as soon as they might come after from Killmallow, appearing upon the top of a hill, Fitzmorris supposed that it had been captain Bowler with his company,
and

and the rest of the English forces that were coming with a supply. Whereupon he immediately made his soldiers retire, so that the president was delivered. But he ceased not to follow the rebels with his forces, till shortly after he overtook Fitzmorris with his Kernes, near a bridge, not far from a wood side, where the rebel finding that he could hardly escape, sent towards the president one, with a white cloth on the top of a spear, in token of parley; which being perceived, the president stayed his companies from marching; this strange herald, to delay time, offered certain conditions of submission, but not such as the lord-president expected, or would accept of. In the mean time, Fitzmorris conveyed his Kernes, over the bridge into the wood, and so escaped. Nevertheless, this device but a very little protracted time, and exasperated the president, to follow him, and to finish the wars, which were now almost at an end. For within a small time, the president giving the rebels no rest, or leaving them any means of maintenance, dispersed the power of Fitzmorris, and made him glad to hide his head, without any strength or number of men to accompany him. So that he was forced to sue for pardon, offering to submit himself to the queen's mercy. Which at length the lord-president consented to, and James Fitzmorris came to Killmallock, where in the church the lord-president caused him to lie prostrate, putting the
point

point of his sword to his heart, in token that he had received his life at the queen's hands. Then he took a solemn oath to continue a true subject to the crown of England, whereby the province of Munster was much quieted, and maintained in as good peace as any part of Ireland.

But the lord-president being too plain-dealing a man, purchased much ill-will, whereby there were heaped on him several causeless complaints in England; yet sometimes shadowed with such probability, and countenanced by such great men, that in part they were believed; and not being at hand to answer objections, he had now and then sharp letters sent him from the government, till at last he determined to come to England and clear himself. And though he had no licence, yet knowing that he left Ireland in quietness, he presumed that his sudden departure would be the better excused.

With this resolution, setting things in order for the present government of Munster, and making up his accounts, he departed thence about the beginning of March 1573.

When Sir John came to court it was thought that the queen would have been highly offended at his coming over without licence. Yet as soon as he appeared before her, and had related the state of Ireland, the particulars of his service, and the cause of his coming over; her majesty commended his endeavours, and desired him

him to return speedily to his charge, lest in his absence some disquietness might arise. To which Sir John answered, That for the general state of the province, it was so well settled, that no new commotion on a sudden need be feared. Yet there were many particulars which might be amended without any great difficulty : which being allowed by her highness, he was ready to serve her there whensoever it should please her to appoint him. And that the same might be the better understood, he presented a plan to the queen to be considered by her majesty, and her privy-counsel.

The plan contained several points ; as the planting the protestant religion in the province of Munster, the due administration of justice according to the laws of England, the keeping of the people in peace, and the answering of her majesty's rents and revenues more assuredly, the setting her lands at more certainty, the dividing the province into shires and Signiories ; the building of forts and castles, some to bridle the rebels, and some for the state of presidency ; the cutting down of woods, which were then harbours of, and fortresses for thieves, rebels, and outlaws ; and the building of ships out of the said woods for the queen's service.

The queen liked well of the plot, and so did some of her council ; but others disliked it, more because it was his design than for any defect.

fect they found therein : yet he seemed to shew some inconveniencies, and so the thing was hindered.

The queen, notwithstanding, would have had Sir John Perrot go over as president again ; but he, fearing that in his absence the complaints of his adversaries might prevail, excused the undertaking of that service, through ill-health. And prayed that he might be licenced to repair into the country for recovery. Which being granted, after leave taken of the queen, he departed to his house.

But he had reposed himself but a few years in the country, sometimes repairing to court, as his occasions served ; when he was suddenly sent for by the queen to take charge of some ships, which were to be sent to sea ; upon intelligence that James Fitzmorris, since his submission, had been in Spain, and procured the promise of ships and men to invade Ireland, especially the province of Munster.

This being known to the queen and her privy-council, they sent for Sir John Perrot to take the command of such ships and pinnaces as should be made ready to intercept, or interrupt the king of Spain, his navy and forces, which were designed for Ireland. Sir John made such speed in his journey, that he came from Pembrokehire to Greenwich in less than three days. The queen, when she saw him, told him, she thought he had not heard from
her

her so soon: yes, madam, answered he, and have made as much haste as I might to come unto your majesty. So methinks, said the queen, but how have you done to settle your affairs in the country? An it like your majesty, said Sir John, I have taken this care for all; that setting private businels aside, in respect of your majesty's service, I have appointed the white sheep to keep the black: for I may well enough venture them, when I am willing to venture my life in your majesty's service. With which answer the queen was well pleased, and she conferred with him privately for some time; then dismissing him and appointing him to receive farther directions for that service from the lords of her privy-council.

Then did Sir John Perrot prepare for that voyage with all convenient speed: He had with him fifty men in orange tawny cloaks, whereof divers were gentlemen of good birth and quality. Also he had a noyce of musicians with him being his own servants.

All things being prepared, Sir John departed from London about August, and went from thence by barge, with several noblemen and gentlemen. As they lay against Greenwich, where the queen kept her court, Sir John sent one of his gentlemen on shore, with a diamond, in a token to Mrs. Blanch Parry, willing him to tell her, that a diamond coming unlooked for, did always bring good luck with it: which

which the queen hearing, sent Sir John a fair jewel hung by a white cypress; signifying, that as long as he wore that for her sake, she believed, with God's help he should have no harm. The message and jewel Sir John received joyfully, and he returned answer to the queen, " That he would wear that for his sovereign's sake, and doubted not, with God's favour, to return her ships in safety, and either to bring the Spaniards (if they came in his way) as prisoners, or else to sink them in the seas. As Sir John passed by in his barge, the queen looking out at the window shook her fan, and put out her hand towards him, upon which he made a low obeysance, while he put the scarf and jewel about his neck: and, being arrived at Gillingham, where the ships rode, Sir John feasted the company which came with him thither.

Sir John Perrot set out from Gillingham to the Downs, and thence passing by Falmouth and Plymouth put to sea for Ireland, where they arrived at Baltimore. And by reason of his former government in that country, they bore such affection towards him, that the people came in great numbers, some embracing his legs, all coveting to touch some part of his body: which the vice-admiral perceiving, and thinking they came to do him hurt, determined to discharge the cannon from his ships; but being informed that they came in love to salute Sir John, he altered his purpose, and landed;

landed ; where they were all entertained as well as the fashion of the country could afford.

After this, Sir John remained awhile upon the coast, till he saw the season of the year was past for attempting any thing against Ireland, and therefore sailed homewards, in his way taking a desperate pirate, one Derryfold. On the Downs also his ship struck on the Kentish Knocks ; where all the persons that were in her, stood in great danger to be cast away ; but at length getting safe to shore ; the admiral, having kissed the queen's hand, retired again to his seat in the country.

But though he continued there at times, he was not unmindful of the court and state affairs : for he not only received letters from some privy counsellors, touching things of moment at that time, but gave answers which were shewed to the queen, and she liked them much ; till in the year 1582 her majesty thought proper to make him lord deputy of Ireland, where Desmond was up in rebellion. And he set sail for that kingdom, in company with the earl of Ormond, and arrived at Dublin in January the same year.

Within a week after his coming, he took the oaths, and began to settle courses for the quieting and government of the country, which had been long infested with civil contention ; so that, for the space of sixty years, the sword was more in use than the laws ; which proceeded

ceeded chiefly from the corruption and ignorance of the governors, which had given great advantage to the ill-affected subjects; and that people in general whose nature it is to seek liberty, and prefer antient customs before new ordinances, be they never so wholesome. Yet, to say the truth, the Irish love to be justly dealt with by their governors, howsoever they deal with one another; and will do more at the command of their governor, whom they repute, and have found, to be just, then by the strict execution of the laws, or constraint of any force or power. They are, for the most part, naturally wise, and apt to observe the best advantage and opportunity to obtain their purposes: all which the lord-deputy knew, partly by his former experience, when he was president of Munster, and by the depth of his judgment: and he determined, in order to settle the better disposed in tranquillity, by hearing complaints, and settling a regular government over the rebellious and seditious, immediately to travel thorough the several provinces in person.

To this purpose, he first took his journey into Conaught, there to place Sir Richard Bingham in his government. From Conaught he travelled towards the province of Munster; but, when he came to Lymrick, he received advertisement of a great number of islanders, or Scottish Irish, landing at Maney, in O-Neale's country. But the whole plot was discovered

covered by the archbishop of Cashill, who sent to the deputy, by Sir Lucas Dyllon, certain letters, which Torlough Lenough wrote him; wherein Torlough challenged the bishop to be his follower borne, and therefore to be trusted; and, that he should find Ulster his refuge when all other parts failed; and, finally, that he should credit the messenger.

After this, the bishop came to Dublin, where he declared that he found the messenger was appointed to practise with all the lords and Irish captains of Munster and Conaught, to enter into rebellion whenever strangers should arrive: and this messenger being afterwards apprehended at Athlone, he confessed, that he was no common man, but one of great account with O-Neale, his fosterer, and a leader of forty horsemen, and had under him two thousand head of cattle; that he was sent to deal with the earl of Clancarty, the lord Fitzmorris, and all others of any account in Munster in Conaught, to require them to join with his master against the queen; and to assure them, that troops, under the king of Spain, with other foreign aid, would enter the kingdom with such force, that, before Michaelmas, there should not be one Englishman left there. He likewise said, that his master was promised to be made king of Ireland; and, that he accepted of it, saying, He would be king, although he died within an hour after.

These

These things occurring, the lord-deputy was forced to return to Dublin, to make speedy preparation for resistance, and to give over his intended journey for a time; though, in the short progress he had gone, he had dealt with the O-Kellys, O-Conor Roe, O-Conor Done, O-Coner Slygo, Mac Willin Onger, Morothe, Done Affluerty, the O-Neales, the Burkes of Enter Conaught, the Mac Dony Mahone, Mac Enaspiké, the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, the lord Bremingham, both the Mac Nemaraes, the two Mac Mahons, and every other lord of Conaught and Thomond; and took pledges for assurance of their loyalty. He had also executed that traitor Connough Beg Obrian, and six of his followers; and decided all controversies. Also, the suspected bishop, Malachias Analone, and a friar, being brother to Mac Wellin Enghter, renounced the pope, and swore to the supremacy. The friar put off his habit, and both published a profession of their faith and recantation. The lord-deputy also encreased the school-master's salary at Galloway, without the queen's charge: and entered into some reformation of religion, which he proposed should soon be better provided for by parliament.

When the lord-deputy had taken this care and order, he prepared speedily to go into the north against the foreign forces there landed, and their adherents the traitors; setting for-

wards

wards on his journey, with such forces as he could make, about the middle of August, 1584: but the islanders hearing of the deputy's determination, and also understanding how well affected all the subjects of Leynster, Munster, and Conaught were; and how ready, contrary to their expectations, to serve against them; they most part fled before he came to Newry, where he was met by Torlough Lenough, having neither protection nor pardon; and there the lord-deputy received his pledges, he yielding himself in all things, as he was required.

Whilst the lord-deputy stayed at Newry, understanding that Sorleboy had entertained a number of islanders, joined to him Okeham and Brian Carraugh, and stood upon terms to hold by force what he had gotten by the same; the lord-deputy thought it a great dishonour to suffer him proudly to countenance the invasion of foreigners to eat out her majesty's natural subjects. Whereupon, entering into action against Sorleboy, and dividing his army into two parts, to follow him on both sides of the river Ban, the lord-deputy himself went with the chief men, and half the forces, on Clandaboy side: and sent Sir John Norris, lord-president of Munster, accompanied with the baron of Dongannon, to Tyrone side, with the other part of the army.

The lord-deputy, on the one side, spoiled Brian Carraugh's country; and Sorleboy being driven

driven over the Ban, to the bogs of Cloncomkine; Sir John Norris, on the other side, overslipping Sorleboy, fell upon O-Chan, one of his chiefs, and took from him two hundred cows, which gave the army some relief, though many of them were embezzled in the driving. Whereupon O-Chan submitting himself, came in and made offer to serve upon Sorleboy; and Brian Caraugh sued for mercy. Now, because Sorleboy shunned the deputy's side, trusting to the bogs on the other, his lordship sent over to the president some of his horse, and footmen, with most of his cattle.

Then, with the rest of his forces, he encamped before Dunluse, and besieged it, being one of the strongest places in Ireland; for it is situated upon a rock, hanging over the sea, divided from the main with a deep natural rock-ditch, having no way to it but by a small neck of the same rock, which is also cut off very deep. It had in it then a strong garrison, the captain being a Scot; who, when the deputy sent to him to yield, refused; and answered, That he would keep it to the last man; which made the deputy plant a battery before it, the cannon being brought by sea to Port-Rush, and drawn thither by force of men; wherein he spared not the labour of his own servants: and, when small shot played so thick out of the fort that the common soldiers began to shrink in

planting of the artillery, the lord-deputy made his own men fill the gabions with earth, and make good the ground, till the ordnance was planted and the trenches made.

This being done, the lord-deputy himself gave fire to the first piece of ordnance, which did no great hurt; but, the next morning, after the garrison had over-night felt a little the force of the battery, they sent to the deputy to be received to mercy; which he condescended to the rather because he would save the charges of repairing again that place, which otherwise he must have beaten down; and because he would not spend the provision, weaken the forces, and hinder the rest of the services then intended, by lying before one fort; and therefore he granted them life and liberty to depart.

After Dunluse, the lord-deputy took Donferte, the garrison being fled; likewise another pile by Port-Rush, and all Sorleboy's islands and loughs; so that he had not a hole left in the main land to creep into.

These things being thus established, and garrisons planted at all proper stations, viz. two hundred footmen, whereof one hundred were found by Magwylly, and seventy horsemen, at Colerane, under captain Carelile; and two hundred foot-men, being of the old bands, and fifty horsemen, whereof twenty-five were enlisted at Kockferyns, under Sir Henry Bagnal, whom the lord-deputy made
colonel

colonel of the forces there, he took his way through the woods of Kylultage and Kylwaren, and returned to Newry on the twenty-eighth of September, where he remained ten days to perfect this service.

Here came to him Turlough O'Neale, bringing with him Henry O'Neale, Shone O'Neale's son, that escaped from Sir Henry Sidney; and to that place there came also all the rest of the lords of Ulster; who, upon their knees, swore fidelity unto the queen, and delivered in such pledges as the lord-deputy demanded; and made like composition for finding of soldiers, and upon the same condition as O'Neale, O'Donel, and Magroyly had done; every one for the numbers ensuing; Hugh Oge and Shane Mac Brian. for the Nether Clandaboy, eighty men; Sir Magenes, for Huaugh, forty men; the captain of Kylultagh, fifteen; the captain of Kylwaren, ten; Mac Carten, ten; the baron of Donganin, Forney, Mac Mahon, Fowes, Dangutry, and O'Harilan, two hundred. In all which, O'Neale's, O'Donel's, and Mac Willie's, amounted to four hundred English, besides thirty to be maintained after the Irish manner by Donnel Corne.

The lord-deputy perceiving some questions for government amongst them, but especially betwixt Turlough O'Neale, the baron of Dungannon, and the marshal; he first reconciled all unkindness between them, and then thought good to divide the greater govern-

ments into smaller, that none should be too strong.

The lord-deputy being returned to Dublin, brought Turlough O'Neale's son with him; but, because his father might need him, being become a good subject, in all appearance, he shortly returned him back again, upon the receipt of four principal men, which he had appointed to be sent to him; which should be sure pledges both for her majesty upon O'Neale, and for him upon his followers; of which Sir John wrote to the privy-council in England. At that time also Shan O'Neale's son, which came over with the Scots, made suit to be received into favour; and, because they had lately taken one Mr. Lambert, an English gentleman, the lord-deputy the rather inclined to hearken to them for that gentleman's sake; and gave order to the marshal accordingly.

But we must here remark, that Sir John Perrot was of a very haughty and choleric disposition; by which, while he was working the weal of Ireland, he gave great offence to most part of the inhabitants; but chiefly by his proposing in parliament a suspension of the famous law called Poyning's Act; which raised a popular cry against him, at the same time that, by allowing the lords and commons to discuss the propriety of repealing the act too freely, he brought himself into disgrace with the queen and privy-council in

in England; and an impeachment against him was furthered by the lord-chancellor and the archbishop of Dublin; but, what particularly effected his ruin, was, an unguarded and indecent expression he let fall from him. Her majesty, as he thought, had used him hardly in abridging his authority on the representation of his enemies; and he remonstrated against it to the council in very strong terms; upon which he received some gentler letters from them. "Look ye," said he, as he read them to the standers by, "how the queen is ready to be-piss herself for fear of the Spaniards. I am her white boy again." These, and such like speeches, were often reported by his secretary to his disadvantage.

It now appeared, that, at the lord-deputy's coming into Ireland, he found the north ready to enter into rebellion, and to incite the lords of Munster and Conaught to combine with them therein. Thurlough O'Neale was ready to join with the Islanders, being brought in by Sorleboy; and they having brought in with them Shane O'Neale's son, to countenance their cause and their coming; and, being more in number, and better furnished, than formerly, had also aid promised and expected; which, no doubt, would have speedily followed from Spain if they had found any success at first.

All these inconveniences the lord-deputy had to encounter and prevent at his first land-

ing, without any provision against them; and yet all these perils he overcame within less than ten weeks; settled the hearts and estates of the good subjects, subdued, or expelled the bad; took pledges for all such as were suspected; compounded all controversies betwixt the great lords; drew the northern lords to a composition for the maintainance of one thousand two hundred soldiers, almost all on their own charges; and passed through the five provinces within less than a quarter of a year; notwithstanding the impediments of the services, and the foul weather which almost always followed him in the latter part of his journey.

These services seem strange to have been so speedily and successfully performed; yet is this truth incontestably proved: so that it should seem, industry, prudence, and prosperity, strove, at the first entrance of Sir John Perrot's government, which should gain him the greatest honour and advancement; and how well his services were allowed of by the queen and privy-council of England, as also how willing they were to grant his reasonable motions, for the better accomplishment of the services that he intended, appears by a letter which their lordships wrote to the lord-deputy, which was as full of commendation and encouragement, though other letters and messages were afterwards sometimes fraught with sharp censure and strict restraints, both
from

from the queen his sovereign, and from others of her privy-council, either by her direction or privity. Such is the fortune of governors, to be subject unto censure !

In the year 1584, the lord-deputy sent and set forth certain orders to be observed by the justices of the peace within their several limits through the realm, containing ten articles ; which, to avoid tediousness, are here omitted. And also, for the farther confirmation of all these conclusions, and for the addition of some new laws, as for the abrogating of some of the old, if necessity should so require, the lord-deputy caused a parliament to be summoned ; in which most of the nobility of that nation, and as many of the spirituality and commonalty of that kingdom, as were sufficient to supply all the places of the three states necessary for the parliament, were there assembled.

To this parliamentary assembly, there were none, of any degree or calling, suffered to come in any cloaths out of the English fashions ; and, although it seemed both uncouth and cumbersome for some of them to be so clad, who preferred custom before decency, and opinion before reason ; yet he constrained them that needed constraint, to come in such civil sort as best became the place and the service : and the better to encourage them, he bestowed both gowns and cloaks of velvet and fatten on some of them, as Turlough, Le-

nough, and others, who yet thought not themselves so richly, or, at least, so contentedly attired, as in their own mantles, and other, their country habits.

Amongst these, one, being put into English apparel, came to the lord-deputy, and besought one thing of him, in a pleasant sort of humour, as they are most of them witty; which was, that it would please his lordship to let one of his chaplain's, whom he termed his priest, accompany him, arrayed in Irish apparel; "and then," said he, "they will wonder as much at him as they do now at me; so that I shall pass more quietly and unpointed at."

By this it should seem that they think, when they once leave their old customs, then all men wonder at them, and that then they are out of all frame or good fashion, according to that saying, "They which are born in hell, think there is no heaven."

In this parliament, as the lord-deputy had the chief place, so was he the most eminent man that came thither, both in goodliness of stature, majesty of countenance, and in all things else that might yield ornament to so great and high a presence; for, as they witness, who were eye-witnesses of it, they never beheld a man of such comeliness in countenance, gesture, and gait, as he appeared to be in his parliamentary robes: and, as a German lord affirmed, who was at that parliament, he
had

had travelled through Germany, Italy, France, England, and Ireland ; but yet, in all those countries, never did he see any man comparable to Sir John Perrot, the lord-deputy of Ireland, for his porte and majesty of personage, whose picture this German lord did much desire to carry with him into that country.

However, though he received great oppositions in his government, yet still he maintained the state in firm peace ; so that there was scarce any known rebel in Ireland besides O'Donel ; who, being suspected because his people began to play some bad tricks, and himself stood upon terms not fitting for him, the lord-deputy and council entered into consultation how he might be apprehended. Some advised to send forces into O'Donel's country, and to bring him in by force : but the lord-deputy argued against that project, alledging that this could not be done without an army of two or three thousand men, which would be both hazardous and chargeable ; “ yet,” said he, “ you shall give me leave to try one conclusion which I have in hand ; and, if that take not effect, then let us fall to what other means we can devise for his apprehension.”

In consequence of this advice, he ordered a ship to be prepared with some wines, and the captain, being one chosen for the purpose, he had command to go into O'Donel's country, and sail as near his dwelling as he might, there proffering his wine to sell.

At his coming into the country, the people hurried to the ship, some to drink, some to price the wines, and all of them, according to the captain's instructions, had what wine they would drink for nothing, as a taste; with this kind offer, that if O'Donell would come himself, he should buy the best wine at a reasonable rate. At length O'Donell came himself to buy some wines, whom they used so courteously, that they gave him his full allowance, and finding the wind serve well for the purpose, which was to return back, and carry O'Donell with them, they stowed him under hatches, and so brought him to Dublin. Which to have been effected by force, would, by all conjecture, have cost much treasure, if not blood, because O'Donell at that time was one of the strongest and most dangerous subjects in the kingdom, by reason of his alliance, his command, and the strength of his country; but by this stratagem he was brought in without blows, and his country kept in quiet without rebellion.

But the lord-deputy finding, that in spite of all his services the malignity against him increased, receiving many nipping letters from the queen, and some restraints against dealing in any thing of importance without the consent of the English counsel, he desired nothing more than to be removed from his government: and to effect his wishes, he wrote several letters to his best friends in England. At length it was obtained, but before he gave

over his command, it being a troublesome time, when the Spanish armada was expected; in the year 1588, he sent for the chief lords of each country, requiring them to put in pledges for the maintenance of peace, and defending the realm against foreign invasion; to which they all yielded willingly, or at least seemingly so, and the lord-deputy, to prevent suspicion of any mistrust against them, made them a speech to good purpose, as the time then stood. Which began as follows:

“ You that are here committed to custody as pledges, and such as have put you in for pledges, I would wish neither of you to think that this security is required, so much in distrust of your particular fidelities, as for the general quiet of the country, and for the particular good of yourselves in a time so dangerous: for if I were in your cases, or was a lord of any country in Ireland, I should at this time, rather to be thus bounden than left at liberty, because whilst any lord is confined, and not in his country, if any thing be done amiss there, he hath the less to answer for it, &c.&c.”

Which pledges, if they had been kept safe and carefully (as some of them, whereof O'Donell was one, were afterwards suffered to escape) they had been good assurances for the quietness of the country, and had saved the lives of many men, and the expence of

much treasure, which was afterwards spent in the wars, and by the revolt of these men and many others which did follow, and adhere unto them. And for conclusion of the lord-deputy's services, a counsellor of Ireland writeth thus, Subjugavit Ultoniam, pacificavit Conaciam, relaxavit Mediam, ligavit Moniam, fregit Lageniam, extirpavit Scotos, refrænavit Anglos, et hijs omnibus per aequæ vectigal acquisivit Reginæ.

Now the lord-deputy, leaving all things in good order, and the country in tranquility, prepared for his departure; but before his delivery of the sword, he gave unto the city of Dublin a fair standing gilt bowl (which passeth from one mayor to another in Dublin, yearly) with his arms engraven, and a parrot on the top; about the beak whereof were written these words, "Relinquo in Pace;" I leave in peace. Which was well known to be true; for at the delivery of the sword to Sir William Fitzwilliams (who succeeded him in the government) he said these words in the hearing of many honourable persons, "Now, my lord-deputy, I have delivered you the sword, with the country, in firm peace and quietness; my hope is, you will inform the queen and the council of England thereof, even as you find it; for I have left all in peace, and pledges sufficient to maintain the peace." To whom the new lord deputy answered, "Sir John Perrot, I must needs confess, that
I find.

I find the country quiet, and all things here in good order; I pray God I may leave it half so well, and then I shall think that I have done my queen and country good service." Then Sir John Perrot replied, " My lord-deputy, I will say more to you before all these witnesses, that there is no ill-minded or suspected person in this kingdom, which can carry but six swords after him into the field, but if you will name him, and shall desire to have him, notwithstanding that I have resigned the sword, and with it all my authority, yet I will (so you shall think it necessary) send for any such, and if they come not in on my word, I will loose the credit and reputation of all my service." To which the lord-deputy answered, " I know you can do this, Sir John Perrot, but there is no need thereof; for all is as well as it needs to be, and so I confess it."

After this charge delivered up, and all things else provided for Sir John Perrot's departure, he left Ireland. and at the day of his departure out of Dublin, there were many noblemen and gentlemen came thither to take their leave of him; amongst whom were old O'Neale and Turlough Lenough, in the great reverence and love they bore him, did not only come to Dublin to bid him farewell, but took boat and saw him on shipboard, looking after him as far as ever they could ken the ship under sail, and shedding tears as if they
had

had been beaten; the like did others of good note and name at that time. Also a great number of poor country people came at his departure; some that dwelt twenty, some forty miles, or more, from Dublin; and many of them, that had never seen him before, strove, as he went through the streets, to take him by the hand, or to touch his garment; all praying for him, and for his long life: and when he asked them why they did so, they answered, "That they never had enjoyed their own with peace before his time, and doubted they should never do so again, when he was gone."

Such was the love of the country in general towards Sir John Perrot, that never did any lord-deputy of Ireland depart thence, with more good liking of the commons, nobility, and gentry of that nation, whereof, and of all that is here written touching his services, there are divers worthy of credit, who will bear witness thereof.

So Sir John Perrot having governed four years, as lord-deputy of Ireland, departed thence in the year 1588, and sailed to his castle of Carew in Pembroke-shire; where he arrived, accompanied with as gallant a troop of gentlemen and serving-men, as ever followed any lord-deputy of his sort.

Thus far of Sir John Perrot's life is taken, with very little alteration or omission, from a manuscript, written by an English gentleman, who

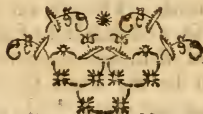
who was in Ireland with him during the time of his government; which manuscript was first brought over from that kingdom, about fifteen years ago. It remains for us to inform the reader, that shortly after Sir John's arrival in England, a charge of high treason was exhibited against him; in consequence of which he was taken into custody, and for some time confined in the lord-treasurer's house; from whence, on the twenty-seventh of April 1592, he was brought to his tryal before a special commission, and received sentence of death (after a most severe and cruel scrutiny was made into his actions, words, and even thoughts) by a law, long since happily repealed.

The above gentleman seems to have had a great tenderneſs to Sir John Perrot, and therefore draws a veil on that part of his life, which he judges too melancholy to be expoſed; and indeed he may well be excuſed for not carrying on the hiſtory farther, as from the time of his retirement to the iſſue of his enemies unwearied malice (which had perſecuted him ſo long, and with ſo much barbarity) his condemnation paſſed not many months. Though the queen is ſaid to have been ſo well ſatiſfied of his innocence, that being told of his condemnation, ſhe cried out, "Then by my troth they have found guilty an innocent man;" or words to that effect.

He

He was returned to the Tower, where a natural death soon put an end to all his troubles, and his liberal mistress, queen Elizabeth, bestowed that estate on his son, which an entail had long before secured to him, and which she thought not fit to dispute; in this indeed more politic, as well as more commendable than some of her successors; though even here, according to Cambden, the merit of having married the earl of Essex's sister, seems to have been no inconsiderable motive. We shall not enter further on the character of this great man, which has been drawn by so many able pens, the immortal Cambden, Sir Francis Newton, and David Lloyd.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



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